

A History of the German Baptist Brethren in Europe and America

Martin Grove Brumbaugh, PH.D.
Mount Morris, ILL.
Brethren Publishing House
Glasgow, 1910

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A Baptist preacher being prepared for drowning by Protestant authorities in Europe

CONTENTS

Preface

Introduction

**CHAPTER I - INFLUENCES DOMINATING GERMANY AT THE OPENING
OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY**

CHAPTER II - THE PIETISTIC PATHFINDERS

CHAPTER III - THE MOTHER CONGREGATION IN GERMANY

**CHAPTER IV - BRANCHES OF THE MOTHER CONGREGATION IN
GERMANY**

**CHAPTER V - A LIST OF THE MEMBERS WHO JOINED THE CHURCH
IN EUROPE**

CHAPTER VI - THE LEADERS IN GERMANY

CHAPTER VII - THE GERMANTOWN CONGREGATION

CHAPTER VIII - SOME LEADERS IN COLONIAL AMERICA

A Select Bibliography of Baptist History

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Preface

To write the history of a religious movement, following it through all of its stages of growth is no ordinary task, though all the data pertaining to the movement be easy of access. But when the material has to be taken from the forest, so to speak, and then reduced to shape, so as to make it an object of beauty, as well as the source of reliable information, the task becomes the more difficult. In quest of the valuable information here for the first time brought together in one volume, the author has been compelled to travel an unbeaten path. For the data the old libraries of Europe and America have been searched. Years have been spent collecting, arranging and simplifying this material so as to place it within the comprehension of the ordinary reader, and now this volume is given to the public in a form that must commend itself to the judgment of every student of modern church history.

Though made up of facts relating wholly to the experiences and incidents of past generations, its style is such as to render it as interesting and fascinating as a romance. This feature of the book we think will be pleasing to all classes of readers.

Concerning the competency of Brother Brumbaugh to produce a volume of such rare qualities, one has only to glance at his busy life. He was born in Huntingdon County, Pennsylvania, in 1862, graduated at the age of nineteen in the Normal English Course at Juniata College, and in the Scientific Course in 1885. In the same institution he taught from 1882 to 1884.

He was County Superintendent of Public Instruction in Huntingdon County from 1884 to 1890. He has lectured at Teachers' Meetings and Institutes in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana and Kentucky. His election to the ministry in the Brethren church occurred in 1891.

He was a graduate student at Harvard University in 1891-1892; took the A. M. degree at the University of Pennsylvania in 1893, and the Ph. D. degree in 1894. In this institution he became Professor of Pedagogy in 1895, which position he still holds. Since 1894 he has also been President of Juniata College.

He is widely known as the author of the "Juniata Bible Lectures," "The Stories of Pennsylvania" (with Dr. Walton), and the "Liberty Bell Leaflets." As a teacher he has had an extensive experience, having taught in every grade, from the country school to the University.

The summer of 1896 was spent in Europe studying educational work, gathering material for his book, and looking up the data of the Brethren church in that part of Germany where our ancient Brethren inaugurated their reformatory movement. History with him has been a favorite as well as a delightful study, especially that related to the ancient Brethren. On this subject he has delivered a number of lectures at the Annual Meeting and elsewhere. Those who heard these lectures urged him to publish them for the benefit of others, and this desire upon the part of those who heard him led up to the preparation of this volume.

We take pleasure in recommending the work, feeling confident that it contains the most complete early history of the Brethren church yet written, and we are certain that it will fill a long felt want both in the church and out of it. We pray that the same Spirit that so directed our ancient Brethren as to lead them into the way of all truth, will so overrule this book for good, as to make it the means of strengthening those of like precious faith, and leading others to accept the doctrine the work is meant to emphasize.

J. H. MOORE.

Introduction

History at best is a beggarly gleaner in a field where Death has, gathered a bountiful harvest. If one could lift the veil and see the past: see the pious Eight in 1708 at Schwarzenau; the storm-swept voyagers of 1719 and 1729; the solemn procession to the Wissahickon on the doubly memorable Christmas day Of 1723; see the first baptismal scene in a wilderness; see the sainted twenty-three at the first love feast the same day; see the welcome given Alexander Mack in 1729 at Germantown; see the ordination of the first Elder, Alartin Urner, in America; see the rapid spread of the people of God over this land during the many years that followed; see the gradual transformation to the church of to-day; and learn from the actors themselves at each stage of development the wonderful story of the church's growth, the duty of recording it would be a rapturous pleasure, not unlike that which seized the holy spirit of John on Patmos.

But Death has scaled the lips that could have spoken and stilled the hand that might have written Fragments alone 'remain. These are scattered over a wide area in two continents. Bro. Abraham H. Cassel, of Harleysville, Pa., three score years ago, began the great task of collecting these fragments, and, with a zeal that knew no quenching, and an industry that has almost cost him his sight and his hearing, has clearly earned the right to be called the Historian of the church. To him the writer of these lines turned some years ago to urge him to prepare a history of the people he loves and among whom he worships.

Alas! life-long devotion has dulled his ear and dimmed his eye. He cannot do the work. It fell upon me as a sacred duty to make actual what his energy and industry made possible. The task was undertaken. The old manuscripts were translated, their facts tabulated, and the results are herein set forth.

Perhaps no religious sect is so little understood and so persistently misrepresented as the German Baptist Brethren. Their name, their belief, their history, all -ire unknown to the general reader and even to the scholar who fails to consult ultimate sources. It is of course not necessary to notice the malicious misstatements of prejudiced and bigoted zealots. But the statements of scholars who faithfully endeavor to state the truth are so wide of the mark that it is necessary to sound a note of warning.

Among the many examples of incorrect historic statements I quote one, selected at random, from "*Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, in the olden Time*," an extended work in three large volumes, by John F. Watson, member of the Historical Societies of Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts. The work was published in 1857. It is generally regarded as a standard work. On page 23, Vol. 11, Watson says, "In 1709 the Tunkards from Germany and Holland emigrated to Pennsylvania, and settled first at Germantown. Their first collected meetings were held in the log *house* in front of their present stone church in Beggarstown. Alexander Mack was then their principal leader. He was a very rich miller in Cresheim, gave all his property in common, and came with eight or ten to Germantown in 1708 He died old; and his son Alexander lived to be near ninety-one years of age."

All of which is current history and valuable save that no Tunkards emigrated from either Holland or Germany in 1708; nor did they hold their first meetings in the log house. Neither was Alexander Mack then their principal leader, since they did not then exist in America; nor did he come with eight or ten to Germantown in 1709 nor did he die old; nor did his son Alexander live "to be near ninety-one years of age."

In belief they have been even more widely misrepresented. They have been confused with the Pietistic, the Mennonites, the Ephrata community of Seventh Day Baptists, the Amish, the Wissahickon Hermits, the Separatists, the New Born, and all sorts of new Anabaptist societies and sects. It is to be hoped that this volume will dispel all such errors and show the]Brethren in their true light, a body of Christian people with a definite body of doctrine based upon the

New Testament, and a consistent and faithful observance of the same.

In name, too, "the church has been strangely and variously designated. They are known as *Dontpclaers*, because they immerse with a forward action, or "duck" under the water; as *Anabaptists*, because they belong to that larger class of people who reject and deny the validity of infant baptism; as *Taufers*, *Tunkers*, *Tunkards*, *Dulikers*, *Ditlikards*, and *Diers*, because of their belief in immersion; as *Wiffliglicin* or *Skwar _cnaii Baptists*, in reference to their origin; as *Germantown Baptists*, in reference to the place of their first organization in America; and as *Bralircit*, largely among themselves, as a designation of their intimate fellowship. They are best known as *Taufers*. They should never be called *Dunkatis*, which word is an English vulgarism with absolutely no meaning. The church has officially declared itself the *German Baptist Brethren Church* and as such it is proper, named, since this designation most accurately figures the character of the Brotherhood. In this volume the writer frequently uses the word *Taufer* in order to link the history of the church with records in Germany and in Colonial America in which they are so designated.

No history of the Brethren has ever been attempted. Our past is to us a sealed record. We have no historical precedent for any part of our present practice. We are misrepresented and misunderstood not alone because we have no formulated Creed but also because we have no record of our growth and our beginning. We are not always consistent in our own practices for the reason that we do not know what our early practice was. There has resulted much confusion and many needless decisions in our church polity from the absence of definite records as to what our forefathers did. Next to the Bible the most valuable possession of the church is a careful record of its own activities. Our policy as a church needs the fiber and strength that comes from a clear perspective into a well-known past. Were we able to line up the whole church from the beginning and study our development from a simple beginning to the present we could all the more clearly indicate the lines of development yet to be.

No one should attend Annual Meeting--an institution that dates as early as 1742--and participate in the making of history for Christ's people, who is ignorant of the past of these same people. The Bible and the practice of the church should be honored, and no new decision advocated or announced until these essential records have been consulted. Then would we have not only a consistent faith but also a consistent practice in Zion.

At the outset it seemed that the work would be limited by the scarcity of data. But exhaustive search has developed such a wealth of matter that only a part can be presented here. With the task of selection before the author, he has deemed it best to confine his treatise largely to the early and least known and perhaps most important epochs in the growth of the church. The later history is well enough preserved in the minutes of congregations, the records of Annual and District Meetings and in the 'literature of the Brotherhood. It is to be regretted that more care is not shown in preserving carefully and depositing in some central place complete records of all congregational activities. The date of organization, election of officers, erection of houses of worship, time and attendants at love feasts, records of baptisms, of deaths and of marriage, together with action on Missions, Colleges, and Sunday Schools should be carefully noted at length by the proper officer in each congregation. The elder in charge should see that this is carefully done.

The aim has been not merely to give a relatively complete record of the early church, but to use this record as a defense of primitive Christianity as believed, interpreted and practiced by the church of the German Baptist Brethren. Without in any way perverting history the writer has aimed at making history defend doctrine and indicate future activities by the church. The collating of this material has been a labor of increasing interest. To find a new fact, to uncover a lost record, to gain an additional link in the chain of events has been the sustaining power in many a weary hour's search. It is to be regretted that, with one exception, no member has aided in the work, although repeated appeals were made to some, whose withholding will not enrich and whose giving would not have impoverished. The one exception is Brother Abraham H. Cassel. With the true spirit of the scholar and philanthropist he gave fully of his wealth of knowledge and to him only is indebtedness acknowledged.

The available data have all been carefully collated. There may be omissions due to the absence of data, which the reader will much regret. There may be here and there valuable matter in print and in manuscript which should be incorporated in the text. If the owners of such matter will inform the author of the same it will be gratefully acknowledged and used to further advance the interest of the church.

With the prayerful desire that this volume may quicken our love for the church; that it may be the means, under God's blessing, of doing some good for the cause of the Master it is now given to the public.

Philadelphia, Pa., 1899.

Martin Grove Brumbaugh

CHAPTER I.

INFLUENCES DOMINATING GERMANY AT THE OPENING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

From the days of the Luther Reformation Germany became the centre of religious agitation. After a thousand years of unchecked control the Catholic Church found in the spirit of Protestantism a worthy rival. This influence may, indeed, be traced to the eleventh century and to the bold, defiant, scholastic leader, Peter Abelard of Paris, pupil of the celebrated William of Champeaux. [For an account of Abelard see Denifle's *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters*; also Compayre's *Abelard, and the Rise of Medieval Universities*.] It was Abelard's defense human reason as opposed to church dogma that led to the creation of European Universities and the development of Scholasticism. From this sprang the Luther Reformation and the scholarly isolation of Erasmus. For the relation of Erasmus to the Reformation see *Works of Erasmus*, by Le Clerc, 10 vols., 1703.]

These men agreed in one essential principle--religion must be an appeal to the individual human reason. In due course of time this principle led to a general upheaval of religious organizations. The supremacy of the Catholic church Germany was gone; and, as the monks declared, "Luther had hatched the egg that Erasmus had laid."

When Germany found itself disenthralled, all sorts of religious organizations began to appear. From the unyielding creed of Catholicism to the utter abrogation of all creed and all organization, the whole gamut of doctrine ran its unchecked way. Each faction became intolerant of all others and persecution, plunder, and war followed in swift succession to compel all dissenters to the acceptance of now this, and now another form of worship. The outcome of all this was the fateful thirty years' war (1647-1648), which involved all continental Europe.

The valley of the Rhine became the theatre of war, and the pious Germans suffered the horrors of continual persecution, rapine, and murder. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648), sometimes called the Treaty of Monster, ended the bloody struggle and leagued the Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed Churches into a new persecuting force. Other wars, notably the Wars of Frederick the Great, lasting from 1620 to 1688, followed by the French wars, made the Rhine country from 1618 to 1748, a continuous field of carnage. This, experience of generations made these Germans a war weary and a war-hating people.

The three state churches denied to all others the right to exist in the German Empire. [Seidensticker's *The First German Emigration to America*.] Whoever found his religious convictions running counter to these; whose faith was of a different sort; who interpreted his Bible in another sense; who worshiped God in his own way; found life a burden and a cross. Church and State vied in their zeal to persecute dissenters. The harmless Mennonites [See D.K. Cassel's *History of the Mennonites*] the God-fearing Schwenkfelders, the Pietists [See Sachse's *Pietists of Colonial Pennsylvania, and Pennypacker's Historical and Biographical Sketches*], and the Mystics were alike reviled, persecuted, and regarded as fit subjects for insane asylums or prisons. What happened to these in the closing years of the seventeenth century became also the fate of the Taufers in the opening third of the eighteenth century.

These people were the most ardent product of the reformation. They did not stop on middle ground with Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli. They carried the spirit of protestation to the acceptance of the maxim: "No exercise of force in religion." This was fundamental in the belief and practice of the Taufers or German Baptist Church. From this they were led logically to define conclusions at variance with the state churches,-conclusions for which they suffered all forms of irreligious persecution, but which they heroically wrought into a new and unique body of truth.

Let us see what this principle of non-coercion gave the church.

(1) To compel anyone to join the church of Christ is an exercise of force. Children are compelled, with no show of reason or desire on their part, to join the church. Hence infant baptism is at variance with their faith. The church is at the outset logically arrayed against infant-baptism.

(2) To compel by law an individual to take an oath is not only contrary to the teaching of Jesus, but it is a violation of the sacred rights of a people whose religious tenets decry all force. Hence the church is at the outset logically opposed to taking the oath.

(3) War is a violent interference with the rights of others. It imposes unwilling burdens upon people. It is, therefore, wrong, and the church at the outset is logically opposed to war.

(4) The injunction of Christ is one thing, the power of prince or ecclesiastic another. The might of the state has no right to interfere with the religious belief of the individual. Hence at the outset the church logically opposed state religions, sustained freedom of conscience, and exalted allegiance to God above allegiance to rulers.

(5) In matters of faith each individual is free to follow his own convictions. Hence they resented all persecution and themselves never persecuted a single soul.

Bullinger, their great reviler, says they taught "that the government shall and may not assume control of questions of religion or faith." [Compare the Constitution of Pennsylvania, Art. 1, Sec. 3: "No human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the right of conscience." Read Whittier's *Quaker Alumni*.]

Upon these God-fearing, conscientious people fell the full power of church and state. Their sufferings were awful. The flaming torch of persecution nightly lighted the valley of the Rhine for a hundred miles. The agonized prayers of burning saints were heard on every side. Sturdy, devout, God-strengthened men and women these, who heroically suffered and died for the religion they loved. [See Pennypacker's *The Teutonic Race*; an address delivered on Oct. 6, 1891, before the German Society of Philadelphia.] There were no cowards in the procession that marched through howling mobs to the stake.

All these dissenters were called Anabaptists. In England they were called Quakers. [Hortensius' *Histoire des Anabaptistes*, Paris, 1695.] These Anabaptists were broken into many sects, depending largely upon their interpretation of the Scriptures and their remove from Ecclesiasticism and civic control. The Taufers were among the latest sects to arise. The leaders in this movement were already Protestant in faith and in confession. They knew all the sects already organized, but found in none the sum of doctrines their study of the Bible compelled them to believe. They created a new denomination because they found nowhere a body of believers fully living the Christ life. When they separated from prevailing creeds they were no doubt tempted to go to the extreme of denying all organized functions. Had they done so they would have found themselves part of that great religion-in-life movement known as Pietism, that swept the Palatine and drew into its ranks the most remarkable aggregation of religious zealots produced in modern times.

That the founders of the church of the Taufers or German Baptist Brethren did fraternize with some of these Pietistic is true. That any of the founders were Pietists is not true. It is also untrue that they had any part or parcel in the flagrant excesses that characterized the Anabaptists of Munster.

It may be well to consider briefly the Pietistic groups in Germany at this time. They were all dissenters. They denied all creeds and opposed all congregational activity, teaching that religion is a life, and that it is shown only by the life of the individual, that all external forms and ceremonies are extraneous and useless, and even sinful,

The only really accurate account of them is in Latin text-Gerardi Croesi *Historia Quakeriana*. This work of Gerard Croese was published in Amsterdam in 1696. It was, therefore, at the founding of the German Baptist Brethren at Schwarzenau in 1708 a new and authentic work. It deals with the Quakers, their relation to the Pietistic, and analyzes the Pietistic into three distinct classes:

"Moreover there were in *Germany*, as it were, three sorts of Pietists: [Croese's Quakeriana, Vol. III, p. 555 et seq. A copy of the second Latin edition, which is very rare, is in the library of the writer. Gerard Croese, a Protestant divine, was born at Amsterdam in 1642. He studied at Leyden, went to Smyrna, returned, became pastor at Alblasserdam, near Dort, where he died in 1710.] One consists of those who sought, and pressed nothing else, but sincere Religion and true Piety: and the greatest part of these are of the learned and better sort of men through Saxony and all Germany.

"Another sort of them cried that the church is much corrupted. They loved Piety; but they were such as on the other hand stagger not a little in the Faith and True Religion, and these some are commonly less moderate and more violent in celebrating their assemblies, etc.

"The third sort of them may be called *Behmists* or *Teulonists*. These call back, as it were, *Jacob Behman*, [they are also known as Gichtelians] the shoemaker of Garlingen in Silesia, from the dead. They advocated the opinions of Boehme [or Behman] and denounced the errors that had been falsely laid upon him, and ascribed to him; yea, and horrid and hellish blasphemy, and exalted his opinions as worthy of all esteem and glory."

The Anabaptists of Munster were an offshoot of the second and third classes as outlined by Croese. They were given to the wildest excesses. Their leaders were illiterate and fanatical. They at various times advocated such doctrines as the following:

(a) Man can unquestionably earn salvation by virtuous conduct and by his own efforts. Christ is rather our father and teacher than our redeemer.

(b) This was soon followed by the declaration of Hans Denk, "God is love,--love supremely exemplified in Jesus of Nazareth, Jesus never stumbled, never lost unity. He is the forerunner of all the saved, hence all must be saved by Jesus."

(c) Ludwig Hatzer denied the divinity of Christ. His records were burned by Ambrosius Blawrer.

(d) Hans Kautz of Bockenheim taught that Jesus is our Savior inasmuch as he left footprints in which we may tread and attain unto salvation. Whoever taught more than this, he declared, made Jesus an idol.

The followers of these men were poor people who rejected all worship, lived in solitary places in groups and were called the Gardener Brethren (Gartnerbruder). To them Christ was a teacher of Christ life but not the fulfiller of the law. Many of them were burned because they would not recant. If they did recant they were beheaded and their bodies burned. A beautiful girl of sixteen refused to recant. The executioner took her to the place where horses were watered, drowned her and then burned her body.

They held that only the flesh sinned, not the spirit. Christ restored sinful flesh and the whole man was rendered free. They insisted that Christ took nothing from His mother at birth. But in Him the pure word was made flesh.

They differed greatly on conduct and practice. Some regarded infant baptism as useless; others, as an abomination. Some demanded a community of goods; others, the duty of mutual help; some segregated and held it unchristian to keep the Sabbath; others declared it culpable to follow after singularities. Some refused to take oath or to bear arms, holding the oath to be sinful and forbidden and the taking of life under any circumstances sinful. This brought upon them the stern opposition of the state, especially in such cities as Strasburg where once a year the citizens, the sole defense of the city, bound themselves by an oath (Bergereid) of allegiance on the annual swearing day (Schwortag). Still others were daft on the marriage question, like the tanner, Claus Frei, who held that the only valid marriage was a marriage in the spirit. He left his lawful wife and traveled with another woman whom he called his "only spiritual wedded sister." [Rohrich, Vol. II, pp. 93 and 101.]

They became intoxicated with license of speech and traversed Germany as wandering apostles, living a whitherless and purposeless life. When they met they saluted with the words, "The peace of the Lord be with you," to which the answer was, "We have the same peace." Among these fanatics was the leader of the insurrection at Munster in 1534, Bernard Rottman. He undertook to reform the administration of the Holy Sacrament.

"He broke white bread into a large wide dish; poured wine thereon; and, after he had spoken the words of the Lord at the Last Supper, he told those who desired the Sacrament to take and eat. Hence he was called Stuten Bernhard, for white bread is called stuten in their tongue." [Dorpius, *Wahrhafftige Historie wie das Evangelium zu Munster angefangen*, sheet C. For a fuller account of these Munster Anabaptists see Leopold Ranke's *History of the Reformation in Germany*, Vol. III, London, 1847.]

Enough has been cited to prove that Pietism, as Gerard Croese, a contemporary, understood it had few of the elements that the founders of the church of the German Baptist Brethren accepted. The better element in the Pietistic movement, Croese's first class, did have some of the doctrines of the Brethren. But they had also many things which Alexander Mack could not accept. Prominent among the Pietistic who occupied a somewhat moderate ground were Philip Jacob Spener; Johann Heinrich Horbius, his brother-in-law; Ernst Christoph Hochmann, who was an intimate friend of Alexander Mack; August Hermann Francke; Gottfried Arnold; Dr. Johann Jacob Fabricius of Helmstadt; Dr. J. W. Peterson, Johanna von Merlau, the woman of ecstatic visions; Jeremias Felbinger, and many others. These dissenters were for the most part earnest, moderate, and devout without being foolish. From them the founders of the German Baptist Brethren learned much, and their writings were cherished and republished frequently on the press of Saur at Germantown and the press of the Ephrata Society. [For a complete list of these works consult Hildeburn's *The Issues of the Press of Pennsylvania from 1685-1784*; also, Seidensticker's *The First Century of German Printing in America*.] It will be seen that the new congregation at Schwarzenau studied all denominations, knew all shades of faith, and then turned from Ecclesiasticism and Pietism alike to carve out a new and distinct order of faith and practice. They were debtors to all, and followers of none.

In the light of two centuries it is significant to note that what they wrought endures; what they rejected is for the most part a memory for the historian. It seems almost just to assert that they were divinely guided in selecting from a myriad of widely varying practices and interpretations those few and simple elements of the Christian faith and practice which are increasingly potential in shaping the religious thought and life of the Christian world.

CHAPTER II.

THE PIETISTIC PATHFINDERS.

Bro. Abraham CASSEL is fond of speaking of some of the German Pietistic as pathfinders for the Brethren. If we understand the term to mean men who broke away from dogmatic theology and exalted individual experience as the test of Christian excellence, he is correct. If by the term we mean men whose teachings were instrumental in forming the congregation we have only a half truth. If by the term we mean men who shaped the purpose and directed the organization we are wholly wrong. Neither Catholic, nor Protestant, nor Pietist, did that. The church was the joint product of Bible study and protest against all existing forms of worship.

Among the Pietistic who did yearn for a better day and a purer faith combined with a holy life was

PHILIP JACOB SPENER.

He was born in Alsace, January 13, 1635, and died in Berlin, February 5, 1705. He advocated a system of personal and practical piety and taught that "Christianity is first of all life, and the strongest proof of the truth of its doctrine is to be found in the religious experience of the believer." Hence to Spener only persons inspired by the Holy Ghost could understand the Scriptures. [A corresponding movement headed by Michael Molinos occurred in the Catholic Church. The followers of Molinos were called Quietists. See Croese's *Historia Quakeriana*. Book II. p. 348.] His influence upon Alexander Mack was remote and indirect.

AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE.

He was born in Lubeck, March 2., 1663, and died June 8, 1727. He is chiefly known as the founder of a charitable institution at Halle for the education of poor children and orphans, which early became widely known for its good work. It is known as "das Hallische Waisenhaus." The missionary department of this orphanage sent Rev. Henry Melchior Miuhlenberg, the founder of the American Lutheran Church, to Pennsylvania. Francke was a successful pastor at Glaucha, a suburb of Halle. In 1694 he became Professor of Oriental Languages, and, later, of Theology at Halle University. [Halle University was founded by Frederic I, King of Prussia, in 1694.] From Halle the Bible was issued in the German Language. Numerous editions were published, one of which, the 34th, is the basis of the text of the Saur Bible of Germantown in 1743.

GOTTFRIED ARNOLD,

A Lutheran clergyman and well known writer in Mystic Theology, born Sept. 5, 1666, at Annaberg, Saxony, was the author of numerous works that influenced the thought of the early Brethren. He was a Theological student at Wittenberg and a follower of Spener. He was Professor of Church History at Giessen, and, after successive pastorates at Werben and Berleberg, was made court historian to Frederic I, founder of Halle University. He wrote a widely known history of religious beliefs, *Unparteiische Kirchen und Ketzer-Historie*. This Impartial History of the Church and of Heretics, published in 1699, and a later work, *Sophia*, or the *Mysteries of Divine Worship* [published in 1700] largely influenced the more mystical part of the German emigrants to America; notably the founder of the Ephrata Society, Conrad Beissel, who was from 1724 to 1728 an Elder in the *German Baptist Brethren Church*. A third work of Arnold's, *A Genuine Portraiture of the Primitive Christians*, was much prized by the founders of the church of the German Baptist Brethren. [For a more extended account of Arnold and his writings see any standard church history and the leading encyclopedias.] From it Alexander Mack in *A Plain View of the Rites and Ordinances of the House of God* quotes on page 18, edition of 1888, to show that infant baptism does not date beyond the second century after the birth of Christ; and again on the question of laying the ban upon such as eat blood Alexander Mack quotes from the same work of Arnold. (See above edition, p. 54.) Arnold

advocated most of the doctrines held by Hochmann and adopted by Mack; Such as non-swearing, trine immersion, baptism of adults only, feetwashing, the salutation, anointing, and non-resistance.

JEREMIAS FELBINGER.

Alexander Mack in discussing immersion [Rites and Ordinances, edition 1888, p. 23] says, "The command to baptize properly signifies, according to the Greek word, *to immerse*, and it has been so translated by Jeremias Felbinger, and many others." Felbinger was born in Brieg, Silesia, in 1616. He was fifty years earlier than Arnold and largely influenced the latter in his interpretation of Scriptures. He was Superintendent of Schools at Coszlin in Pomerania, and later he formed associations by letter with Dr. Grossen, Superintendent at Colberg, Dr. Pelargo and others. Later at Amsterdam he was so poor that, notwithstanding his great learning, he gained a meager livelihood as a proof reader in a large printing establishment. As early as 1660 he translated the New Testament literally into German. He was conversant with Holland, Latin, Greek, German, and Hebrew, and wrote or translated into these different languages. His principal work, so far as relates to the Brethren, is his *Christian Hand Book* or *Christiches Handbuchlein* [a third edition, 12 mo., 129 pp., was published by Samuel Sower, son of the second Christopher Sower, at Baltimore, in 1799]. The volume in seven chapters treats of Man's Apostasy and Reconciliation; of the Admission Of Immature Children into the Visible Church; of Holy Baptism; of Church Discipline; of Feet Washing as an ordinance of the Church; of the Holy Slipper; and of the Problem of the Oath. He shows that the Kingdom of Grace established by Christ reconciles all who will to be reconciled; that children are saved by the death of Christ and do not need to be baptized; that baptism means immersion; that feet-washing is commanded in the Holy Scriptures; and fails in discussing the Holy Supper to distinguish between the Lord's Supper and the Communion. He argues against the Oath; and, in general, touches most of the fundamental doctrines of the Church of the Brethren.

ERNST CHRISTOPH HOCHMANN.

More than all others combined did Ernst Christoph Hochmann influence the mind and conduct of the founder of the Church of the German Baptist Brethren. Mack and Hochmann were friends. They held much in common. They were companions in missionary enterprises. They lived in the same religious refuge-Schwarzenu. Hochmann preached what Mack practiced. The Church of the German Baptist Brethren owes to him a debt of gratitude surpassed only by the devotion due to his inspired and heroic friend-Alexander Mack. For this reason it seems wise to consider his career somewhat in detail. A careful study of his life and his teachings will unquestionably reveal the atmosphere in which the spirit of Mack was stimulated and guided in the organization of a separate and unique band of believers. It will also show how far from the truth is such an eminent authority as Dr. Benjamin Rush, who asserts that the Tunkers are a branch of the Mennonites. [*Manners of the Pennsylvania Dutch*, Dr. Benjamin Rush, edited by Dr. Rupp.]

Ernst Christoph Hochmann von Hochenau was born about 1670. [Seidensticker in *First Century of German Printing in America* says 1661.] He was the son of a custom's officer of Sachsen-Lauenberg. His father was of a distinguished noble family, who, in his later years, settled at Nuremberg, where as a citizen and as Secretary of War (Kriegs-Schreiber) he passed his closing years.

The elder brother of Ernst, Heinrich (born 1661), was his guardian and a man of prominence, representing his native city, Nurnberg, as deputy at the Imperial Court. He was also Imperial Councillor in 1702 and Gothic Privy-Councillor. Leopold I., the Emperor, consulted him on many public and private affairs, and raised him to the rank of Freiherr.

Under the influence and prestige of his brother, Ernst was, as early as 1698, urged to become Attorney of the City of Nurnberg. Ernst refused saying he served a greater master, namely, the Lord Jesus, the King of kings. Irritated by his obstinacy his brother gave up all hope for his advance and cast him adrift as a fantastic man.

The young man was brought up in the Lutheran faith. His mother and his god-fathers were, however, Catholics. At an early age he went to Halle to hear the celebrated Thomasius lecture on law. [Thomasius in 1690, was expelled from Leipsic University on account of his pietistic teachings. He then removed to

Halle.] At Halle Hochmann was "awakened" by August Hermann Francke, a pupil of Spener. In 1693 he was arrested and expelled from Halle because of his testimony for Jesus Christ and his strictures upon the state religions. The incident that confirmed his position and made him a pronounced separatist is the following: One day he was out hunting. When breaking through a hedge, the hilt of his sword was caught in a twig in such a manner that sword and twig formed a cross. This incident confirmed his previous scruples against hunting. He threw away his sword-belt and sword saying, "Now, henceforth never again! I renounce all worldly pleasures; and surrender wholly and decisively to God and Jesus Christ, firmly resolved to risk life and body, good and blood for Christ's sake. I shall fear neither fire nor swords, neither gallows nor wheel for Christ's sake." [M. Goebel, *Christliches Leben*, Vol. II, p. 811.]

In 1697, Hochmann came to Giessen and became associated with Gottfried Arnold and other likeminded ones, notably Dippel. Here Hochmann was drawn into a new religious order and became more emphatic in his hostility to all the creed-centered churches of the State. The next year he removed to Frankfurt. At this time his life was rich in piety. He wrote to a friend at Giessen, "I gladly confess that if Divine Wisdom grants me to feel an inflow of the great glory of those who sit with Christ on His throne, then my spirit will be to such a degree inspired to continue the fight, that if I had a thousand lives, I would willingly risk them for Him. Alas! it is but a trifle to suffer in this world," etc.

While at Frankfurt he issued an earnest exhortation in an open letter to the Jews, urging them to seek conversion in view of the immediate second advent of the Lord. In the Synagogue he delivered such earnest and impassioned prayers that the Jews fell to weeping and moaning, and some took Hochmann to be a Jew. Many of them followed him, and for their approaching conversion they sang with him a hymn he composed for the occasion--*Wenn endlich etc.*" [*Freylinghausen Gesangbuch*, p. 1346.]

Hochmann, however, soon learned that the conversion of the Jews was the hardest of all works of Christian charity. [He did make a powerful impression on many of them. A foreign Jew who happened to hear Hochmann at this time met him in Prague years later. He requested Hochmann to grant him a favor. Hochmann consented, whereupon the Jew gave him a bag of gold. Hochmann took it and then begged the Jew to grant him a favor. The Jew agreed and Hochmann returned the bag of gold saying: "Give it generously and to the glory of God to the poor and wretched of your own people."] Gichtel in 1702 wrote: "The dear Hochmann will at last come to know himself. Good intentions often deceive us. Without the spirit of God we cannot accomplish anything before the appointed time. I have also labored to convert the Jews and I know that God's time is different from our own."

Then he turned his whole attention to the destruction of the organized sectarian churches. He regarded them as Babel, and labored to gather the believing ones into closer unity. If he did not absolutely insist upon the awakened ones leaving the church, he yet always preferred that they should, from a most pronounced inward desire, sever their connection completely from the state churches. He warned all those that had gone forth from Babel not to return to it.

In 1709, when just out of prison at Nurnberg, he wrote to some lukewarm ones in the Palatine, "Do not blame me, beloved Brethren and Sisters, that I with such great and loving zeal wish to draw you away from human organizations, and instead, urge you to go to the Almighty God himself. I am certain that you will not find any peace for your soul until you shall have both outwardly and inwardly done with Babel, and surrender yourselves to Jesus. Therefore, give yourselves up entirely to Jesus, my King, and you will learn in deed and in truth that he is your all-sufficient Redeemer."

Driven from Frankfurt in 1708 by persecution, he found refuge in Hesse-Cassel; and the next year in Wittgenstein. Here he lived a solitary, ascetic life, renounced all earthly callings, and even endeavored to fast in the desert for forty days, after the manner of our Lord. His pious zeal resulted in the "awakening" of the Count and the Countess von Wittgenstein, and especially of the Countess Widow, Hedwig Sophia von Berleberg. This aroused the bitter enmity of the latter's brother, 'Count Rudolf zur Lippe-Bracke. The count in July, 1700, had Hochmann beaten almost to death and thrown into prison. Soon thereafter he was released from prison and expelled or driven from the city in a most disgraceful manner. He was obliged to run for hours in advance of a horseman who followed close upon his heels and lashed him into greater haste. He was in no wise subdued, for we find him immediately after this, August 5, 1700, addressing to Count August at Berlin these words, "The Lord had heretofore strengthened me so powerfully in my ways

and in my persecutions, that I am resolved to endure even the most horrible and humiliating treatment without any resentment or bitterness."

From 1700 to 1711 Hochmann is literally a wandering spirit, homeless and persecuted. He wandered into almost every part of Northern and Western Germany, preaching, protesting, and suffering imprisonment. On these journeys he was accompanied by pious friends who aided in this religious revival. Among these co-workers were Alexander Mack, Christian Erb, Count zur Lippe-Biesterfeld. In houses, farm-buildings, and the open air these devout men prayed, exhorted, sang, and witnessed for a holier life, a closer fellowship and spiritual union with the Holy Trinity. For these bold and unlawful assaults upon the state churches he was imprisoned at Detmold, 1702; at Hanover, 1703; at Nurnberg, 1709-10; at Halle, 1711; and also at Mannheim; in the Bergish district; and in other places. He was as frequently scourged; so that it was a common saying of his that "to suffer a sound thrashing for Jesus' sake is of such frequent occurrence that I do not mind it any more." On one occasion as he was sitting lonely and prayerful by the wayside, he noticed a worldly man and his valet riding by. Hochmann at once began to exhort the man to repentance. This so angered the man that he ordered his valet to whip Hochmann. The servant obeyed and at the end of the cruel thrashing Hochmann thanked the valet kindly, whereupon the servant was so humiliated that he humbly begged Hochmann to forgive him. The imprisonment of 1702 at Castle Detmold by Count zur Lippe-Detmold is to the church of the German Baptist Brethren especially important. His persecutor refused to release him until he wrote out his confession of faith. This Hochmann did, and that confession next to the Bible was the most important influence in the genesis of the church. [For the influence of this confession and the original text, together with a literal translation, see pages 75-88.] The subsequent history of this remarkable man is a continuous record of arrests, imprisonments, persecutions, preachings, and prayers.

In the Bergish land occurred an incident typical of his career. A wild, drunken young fellow, a barber by trade, came to Hochmann's meeting at Grafewrath in order to annoy this "Quaker-Devil ." But Hochmann preached so powerfully that the man began to pray and on his way home he exclaimed, "Oh! what a wicked fool I have been. This man teaches the right way to God." The young man reformed, became a follower of Hochmann, and after his death, his poor widow found her richest comfort in hearing again and again of Hochmann and his friend Peter Lobach. [Peter Lobach was a member at Creyflet who endured four years' imprisonment for becoming a member of the Brethren church.] In the midst of his trials his life-long friend, Dr. Johann Conrad Dippel, the famous separatist, then living in Holland, came to his aid. In a bitter satire he accused the Wesel ministers for sitting in a warm nest, living and posturing at ease in this world, and unfit to rise into heaven with Christ. He defended Hochmann, recites the story of his honorable ancestry, his own resolute refusal of state preferment for religion's sake, and concludes in these words: "He is walking on the path where God is to be found; while you, even in the best of your deeds, seem to be running ever farther away from him. If I am to judge you by your writing, you seem to be putting out your own eyes so as never to see his Light, his Savior and his Glory." [The letter in full is in Vol. II of Goebel's *Christliches Leben*.]

This polemic only embittered the already unhappy career of Hochmann and hastened the date of his retirement to Schwarzenau.

At Schwarzenau in a valley, called the valley of "huts" or of "peace" to this day, Hochmann built a lonely little house. This hut of his was only a few paces in length and width. It had a kitchen and a sleeping room. He called it "Friedensburg." Here, as a neighbor to Alexander Mack, they were in close communion, and "Friedensburg," no doubt, was the scene of many solemn conferences between these noted men. Here Hochmann was visited by representatives of all the non-state religions. But to none was he so intimately attached as to the little band of refugees under Mack. They held much in common. Mack, however, was always anxious to organize a congregation in which the ordinances of God's house could be honored and observed. This led eventually to separation and painful regrets on the part of both. Like Erasmus in the days of Luther, Hochmann believed it better to reform from within, but Mack with a fearless spirit and a resolute will broke from every entangling alliance, accepted only the logic of events, relied upon God to guide him aright, and boldly organized a new congregation with the Bible as the rule and guide in all things.

From this separation Hochmann never rallied. His strongest supporters were now with the new congregation, and he spent his old days in solitude and sorrow. That Hochmann ever joined the church of

the Brethren is an open question. It was currently reported that he was immersed at Schwarzenau by Alexander Mack, And the latter's son, long years afterwards, in writing a list of persons whom he knew and who had died before himself names "Brother Hochmann von Hochenau." In that list Bishop Mack does not call any one "Brother" who was not in the communion of the church of the German Baptist Brethren, unless this one example is an exception in a list of nearly two hundred names.

If not a member, he was at least so closely identified with the first members that he worshiped with them, endorsed their views, loved their fellowship, and gave them as they gave him hearty and consistent aid and sympathy. Moreover he preached to the Brethren in Switzerland in the presence of Alexander Mack.

During his last days he was visited by the later Frau Taborin, then a child of seven years, her mother and sister, and an aunt and daughters. They were people of the 'nobility. The visit was unexpected, Hochmann ran to his servant saying, "Hast thou nothing in store that I might set before my dear guests?" The servant could bring only what the poor old man had,- a piece of gingerbread. When he was about to distribute this humble fare to his guests the Countess of Berleberg, who lived near by in the Castle Christianseck, sent cake and wine. This delighted Hochmann and he said, "Who will forbid us now to eat the Lord's Supper together? The Lord will surely be with us here according to his promise."

About a year later, 1721, the same young girl was in Schwarzenau, and learning that Hochmann was ill went with her mother to see him. When he was asked how he was he answered, "All vanishes, and nothing but Jesus remains light in the darkness." The next day he quietly passed away.

Weck, the collector of the *Liebesbrocken*, says, "Those that visited Hochmann in his last illness were much edified by his meek patience and loving discourse." He was especially fond of the hymns: "*Jesu Meine Zuversicht*;" "*Jesu, meiniger Seelen Leben*," by Scriver; and "*Es glanzet der Christen inwendiges Leben*," by Richter.

Among Hochmann's devoted followers was Gerhard Tersteegen, who was converted by Hofmann, a follower of Hochmann. Tersteegen in 1736 visited the grave of Whitman at Schwarzenau and was much pained to find no stone to mark the place. He begged the dowager Countess to erect to his memory a monument, which she gladly consented to do provided Tersteegen would compose the inscription. This he did as follows:

*Wie hoch ist nun der Mann, der hier ein Kindlein gar,
Herzinnig, voller Lieb, doch auch voll Glaubens war,
Von Zions Königs Pracht er zeugte und drum litte;
Sein Geist flog endlich hin hier zerfiel die Hütte. "*

["How high is now the man, who here was like a child,
Sincere and full of love, yet also full of faith.
Of Zion's Kingdom's fame he spoke and for it suffered,
His spirit rose to it and here decays the hut."]

In 1785 Jung-Stilling wrote a description of Hochmann with which we must conclude the remarkable record of this friend of the truth: "Hochmann was dressed in a quiet, neat, and middle-class manner. He was of the most excellent character, as one can imagine. Everywhere he sought to teach,--whether he drew few people or many,--as opportunity offered, and taught them the purest mysticism; entire change of heart; perfect moral improvement; according to the example of Christ, perfect love of God and mankind; he spoke with astonishing enthusiasm and with indescribable fire, but free from bombastic and fanatic admixture, in the popular speech; and all he taught he animated in his own life. Master of his own heart and over his passions, humble and meek in the highest degree, he won the hearts of all who came in contact with him. In a word, '*Er war ein herrlicher Mann* --He was a rare man.'" [From *Theobold oder die Schwarmer*, 1785.]

CHAPTER III.

THE MOTHER CONGREGATION IN GERMANY.

1708 is a memorable year to the church of the German Baptist Brethren.

In that year at Schwarzenau, Province of Wittgenstein, in Hesse-Cassel, was enacted a remarkable scene. Eight pious souls, after careful prayer and prolonged study, relying only upon God and the Bible to guide them and their followers forever, walked slowly, solemnly and heroically from the house of Alexander Mack to the river Eder, which, like a silver thread, wound its way through the heart of a rich and varied landscape. Here the pious eight, in the early morning, surrounded by many curious witnesses, knelt in prayer, and then one of them led Alexander Mack into the water and immersed him three times, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Then Alexander Mack baptized the other seven, and these eight, perhaps the first to receive trine immersion in the history of the Protestant Church, then organized a new congregation. This new congregation chose one of their number, Alexander Mack, as their leader, and thus began the *Taufers* or *German Baptist Church*, as a separate and distinct organization. These eight members, the beginning of the church, were,--

1. Alexander Mack,
2. His Housekeeper,
3. A Widow Noethiger,
4. Andreas Bone,
5. John George Hoening,
6. Luke Vetter,
7. Kippinger,
8. A gunsmith, name unknown [list as given in *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 2]

The list which is perhaps correct is given by Alexander Mack [*A Plain View of the Rites and Ordinances of the House of God*, p. 9]:

- i. Alexander Mack,
2. Anna Margareta Mack,
3. Joanna Noethiger, or Bony,
4. Andrew Bony,
5. George Grebi,
6. Lucas Vetter,
7. John Kipping,

8. Joanna Kipping.

A third list, as given by Morgan Edwards, in "*Materials toward a History of the American Baptists*," published in 1770, Vol. I, Part IV, is as follows:

1. Alexander Mack,
2. His wife,
3. Joanna Netbegeim,
4. Andreas Bhoney,
5. George Grevy,
6. Lucas Fetter,
7. John Kipin,
8. His wife.

I will add one additional list, in the hope careful study of the names may lead to the proper rendering of the list of these first members [*Genealogy of the Urner Family*, p. 8].

- i. Alexander Mack,
2. Anna Margaret Mack
3. Joanna Noetinger,
4. Alexander Bony,
5. George Grebe,
6. Luke Vetter,
7. John Kipping,
8. Joanna Kipping,

These eight members of the pioneer church were not a group of local enthusiasts, nor were they irreligious prior to the organization of the Taufers or Tunkers. Alexander Mack was from Schriesheim; Luke Vetter and George Grebi were from Hesse-Cassel Andrew Bony was from Basle in Switzerland; and John Quipping was from Barite in Wurtemberg. They were refugees from intolerance and persecution, living temporarily in Wittgenstein, because it was at that time ruled by the mild and humane Count Heinrich von Wittgenstein.

They were all members of a Protestant church before 1708. Kipping was a Lutheran, Mack, Vetter, Bony, and Grebi were bred Presbyterians. [The word "Presbyterian" in this connection means Reformed.] But they were by no means satisfied with the formalism and ritualism with which their spirits were oppressed. On the other hand they could not fully and unreservedly adopt the faith of the Pietistic whose utter hatred for all church organization had led them to abandon the ordinances of the house of God. Rejecting on the one hand the creed of man, and on the other hand the abandonment of ordinances, they turned to the Bible for

guidance. From God's Word they learned that ordinances were vital and creed unnecessary. Adopting the Bible as their rule and guide they organized a church with no creed, and with all the ordinances as taught by Jesus and his followers, as recorded in the New Testament. Their position is unique. They have no counterpart in history, save the mother churches established by Paul and the disciples. They are Protestant without a formed Protestant creed. They are Pietistic without the ultra church-in-the-spirit doctrines of Spener and his followers. It was much in their favor as a body of believers to be able, as they were, to protest against formal religion and not go to the extreme of utter disorganization.

They believed Jesus had given them a creed and had likewise given them the necessary ordinances to keep the body of believers steadfast for him. Abandoning all precedents and denominations, studying zealously to know the right, living in an atmosphere that was heavy with religious agitation, surrounded by men of all faiths, and carving out of the confusion and turmoil of a turbulent age the simple faith and practice so precious to their followers, they proved, by their actions, that they were men of no mean training, and that they were possessed of a courage and heroism that mounts almost to the sublime.

ACCOUNT OF ORGANIZATION.

A most accurate account of the process of organization of the church of the German Baptist Brethren is given by Alexander Mack, the founder of the church, and Peter Becker, for many years the active Elder of the Germantown congregation. The account is here given in full. It was printed at Germantown, January 30th, 1774, by Alexander Mack, Jr., son of the founder.

It pleased the good God in his mercy, early in the beginning of this [last] century to support his "grace, that bringeth salvation, and which hath appeared to all men," by many a voice calling them to awake and repent, so that thereby many were aroused from the sleep and death of sin. These began to look around them for the truth and righteousness, as they are in Jesus, but had soon to see with sorrowful eyes the great decay (of true Christianity) almost in every place. From this lamentable state of things they were pressed to deliver many a faithful testimony of truth, and here and there private meetings were established besides the public church organization, in which newly-awakened souls sought their edification. Upon this the hearts of the rulers were embittered by an envious priesthood, and persecutions were commenced in various places, as in Switzerland, Wurtemberg, the Palatinate, Hesse and other places.

To those persecuted and exiled persons the Lord pointed out a place of refuge, or a little "Pella," in the land of Wittgenstein, where at that time ruled a mild count, and where some pious countesses dwelt. Here liberty of conscience was granted at Schwarzenau, which is within a few miles of Berleberg. And from this cause, though Wittgenstein is a poor and rough country, many people, and those of various kinds, collected at Schwarzenau, and this place, which had been but little esteemed, became so much changed that in a few years it became a place extensively known.

Those who were brought together there from the persecutions, though they were distinguished by different opinions, and also differed in manners and customs, were still, at first, all called Pietistic, and they among themselves called each other brother. But very soon it appeared that the words of Christ, Matthew 18, where he says, "If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone," etc., could not be reduced to a proper Christian practice, because there was no regular order yet established in the church. Therefore some returned again to the religious denominations from which they had come out, because they would not be subjected to a more strict Christian discipline; and to others it appeared that the spiritual liberty was carried too far, which was thought to be more dangerous than the religious organizations they had left.

Under these circumstances, some felt themselves drawn powerfully to seek the footsteps of the primitive Christians, and desired earnestly to receive in faith the ordained testimonies of Jesus Christ according to their true value. At the same time, they were internally and strongly impressed with the necessity of the obedience of faith to a soul that desired to be saved. And this impression also led them at the time to the mystery Of water-baptism, which appeared unto them as a door into the church, which was what they so earnestly sought. Baptism, however, was spoken of among the Pietistic in very different ways, and the manner in which it was sometimes spoken of caused pain to the hearts of those that loved the truth. Finally, in the year 1708, eight persons consented together to enter into a covenant of a good conscience

with God, to take up all the commandments of Jesus Christ as an easy yoke, and thus to follow the Lord Jesus, their good and faithful shepherd, in joy and sorrow, as his true sheep, even unto a blessed end. These eight persons were as follows, namely, five brethren and three sisters. The five brethren were, George Grebi, from Hesse-Cassel, the first; Lucas Vetter, likewise from Hesse, the second; the third was Alexander Mack, from the Palatinate of Schriesheim, between Mannheim and Heidelberg; the fourth was Andrew Bony, of Basle, in Switzerland; the fifth, John Kipping, from Bareit, in Wurtemberg. The three sisters were, Joanna Noethiger, or Bony, the first; Anna Margaretha Mack, the second; and Joanna Kipping, the third.

These eight persons covenanted and united together as brethren and sisters into the covenant of the cross of Jesus Christ to form a church of Christian believers. And when they had found, in authentic histories, that the primitive Christians, in the first and second centuries, uniformly, according to the command of Christ, were planted into the death of Jesus Christ by a threefold immersion into the water-bath of holy baptism, they examined diligently the New Testament, and finding all perfectly harmonizing therewith, they were anxiously desirous to use the means appointed and practiced by Christ himself, and thus according to his own salutary counsel, go forward to the fulfillment of all righteousness.

Now the question arose, who should administer the work externally unto them? One of their number, who was a leader and speaker of the Word in their meetings, had visited, in sincere love, different congregations of Baptists (*Taufgesinnten*) in Germany, most of which admitted that holy baptism, when performed by an immersion in water and out of love to Christ, was indeed right; but they would also, besides this, maintain that pouring of a handful of water might also do very well, provided all else would be right.

The conscience, however, of them (the brethren) could not be satisfied with this. They therefore demanded of him, who led in preaching the Word, to immerse them, according to the example of the primitive and best Christians, upon their faith. But he, considering himself as unbaptized, required first to be baptized of some one of them before he should baptize another. So they concluded to unite in fasting and prayer, in order to obtain of Christ himself, the founder of all his ordinances, a direction and opening in this matter; for he who was requested to baptize the other, wanted to be baptized by the church of Christ, and the rest had the same desire.

In this their difficulty they were encouraged by the words of Christ, who has said so faithfully, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." With such confidence in the precious and sure promise of God, they, under fasting and prayer, cast lots to learn which of the four brethren should baptize that brother who so anxiously desired to be baptized by the church of Christ. They mutually pledged their word that no one should ever divulge who among them had baptized first (according to the lot), in order to cut off all occasion of calling them after any man, because they had found that such foolishness had already been reproved by Paul in his writing to the Corinthians.

Being thus prepared, the Eight went out together one morning, in solitude, to a stream called the Eder, and the brother, upon whom the lot had fallen, baptized first that brother who desired to be baptized by the church of Christ, and when he was baptized, he baptized him by whom he had been baptized, and the remaining three brethren and three sisters. Thus these Eight were all baptized at an early hour of the morning.

And after all had come up out of the water, and had changed their garments, they were also at the same time made to rejoice with great inward joyfulness, and by grace they were deeply impressed with these significant words, "Be ye fruitful and multiply!" This occurred in the year above mentioned, 1708. But of the month of the year, or the day of the month or week, they have left no record. After this the said eight persons were more and more powerfully strengthened in their obedience to the faith they had adopted, and were enabled to testify publicly in their meetings to the truth; and the Lord granted them his special grace, so that still more became obedient to the faith, and thus, within seven years' time, namely to the year 1715, there was not only in Schwarzenau a large church, but, here and there in the Palatinate, there were lovers of the truth, and especially was this the case in Marienborn, where a church was gathered; for the church in the Palatinate was persecuted, and its members then came to Marienborn. And, when the church here became large, it was also persecuted. Then those that were persecuted collected in Crefeld, where they found liberty under the king of Prussia.

Moreover the Lord called, during those seven years, several laborers, and sent them into his harvest, among whom were, John Henry Kalkleser, of Frankenthal; Christian Libe and Abraham Duboy, from Ebstein; John Nasz and several others from Norten; Peter Becker, from Dillsheim. And to these Were added also John Henry Trout and his brothers, Heinrich Holsapple, and Stephen Koch. The most of these came during those seven years to Crefeld; John Henry Kalkleser, however, and Abraham Duboy came to Schwarzenau; so did also George B. Gansz, from Umstatt, and Michael Eckerlin, from Strasburg.

But as they found favor with God and men on the one hand, so (on the other hand) there were also enemies of the truth, and there arose here and there persecutions for the Word's sake. There were those who suffered joyfully the spoiling of their goods, and others encountered bonds and imprisonment; some for a few weeks only, but others had to spend several years in prison. Christian Libe was some years fastened to a galley, and had to work the galling oar among malefactors; yet, by God's special providence, they were all delivered again With a good conscience.

Since the persecutions in the form of poverty, tribulation, and imprisonment, by which they were oppressed, made them only the more joyful, they were tried in another manner, by men of learning seeking to confound them with sharp disputations and subtle questions, of which the forty searching questions of Eberhard Ludwig Gruber, which, with their answers, will be annexed to this treatise, will sufficiently inform the reader.

About this time it was deemed expedient by the church of the Lord in Schwarzenau to issue this publication, for the instruction of those pure-minded persons who are seeking after truth. And in this work every impartial reader, if he will read it with these introductory remarks, and without prejudice, can find what has been the cause and object of publishing it. [This ends the original document, printed at Schwarzenau. What follows was written by Alexander Mack, Jr.]

But, inasmuch as those which then stood in the work of the Lord so cheerfully, and confessed the truth with great simplicity and honesty, have now all departed in peace, the desire has arisen in those churches which bear the same testimony here in America, and which have likewise given themselves to the Lord to walk in the truth, to have this simple testimony again published, more especially for the benefit of our dear youth, that they may have a plain and simple exposition of the truth in which they-are instructed, and chiefly for the glory of God, who has so wonderfully preserved his truth even to these latter times.

This simple testimony of truth we commend to the good and wise God for protection, and, as an offering, we lay it at his feet of mercy. And may he give to the kind reader such a state of mind that will cause him to love the truth, and be acceptable to him, for it is only when we are in such a state that the truly divine Spirit who will enable us to prove all things and hold fast that which is good and useful, will come forth and lead us as the lambs of Christ into all truth. Blessed is the man who does not oppose him, for he will bring all things to his remembrance whatsoever Jesus, the eternal truth, himself has said and taught.

Now, to that innocent Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world, be glory, honor and adoration in the congregation of the Firstborn in heaven and on earth, in the communion of the Father and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

N. B.--This simple record is taken in part from some papers which were left by two brethren, namely, Alexander Mack and Peter Becker, who have already, some considerable time ago, fallen asleep in the Lord; and, in part, some things were inserted which were related to me orally by my parents, as well as by some other brethren, who have also fallen asleep in the Lord, and who were themselves eye-witnesses of that which they have testified to us, to our consolation and encouragement. This he witnesseth who has written this the 30th of January, 1774, as one called to the marriage of the Lamb, and to that great supper prepared for that glorious marriage. [SIGNED] A. M.

CHAPTER IV.

BRANCHES OF THE MOTHER CONGREGATION IN GERMANY.

The Schwarzenau congregation flourished from the beginning. Its missionary spirit led to the founding of a second congregation in the Marienborn district. After their persecutions in Marienborn this new congregation found refuge in Creyfelt in 1715. A third congregation was established at Epstein, and many members were living in Switzerland of whom we have no record.

The Schwarzenau congregation in 1720 was bitterly persecuted and its members under Alexander Mack fled for protection to Westervain in West Friesland. [Sometimes called Surestervin, West Friesland; see Morgan Edward's *History of the Baptists in America*, Vol. I, Pt. IV.]

This congregation flourished for nine years in Friesland and then owing to the promising outlook in Pennsylvania the congregation chartered the ship Allen, James Craigie, Master [Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, Vol. XVII, p. 18], and sailed July 7, 1729, from Rotterdam, touching at Cowes, for Pennsylvania. They landed at Philadelphia, and qualified Sept. 15, 1729. The entire list of members crossing the ocean in the Allen is fifty-nine families, one hundred and twenty-six souls. Only those males above the age of sixteen were required to qualify.

By this qualification these Germans became subjects of the British Crown. The following is the declaration to which these Brethren made affirmation:

"I, A. B., do solemnly & sincerely promise & declare that I will be true & faithful to King George the Second and do solemnly, sincerely and truly Profess Testifie and Declare, that I do from my Heart abhor, detest & renounce as impious & heretical that wicked Doctrine & Position that Princes Excommunicated or deprived by the Pope or any authority of the See of Rome may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other Prelate, State, or Potentate hath or ought to have any power, whatsoever. And I do declare that no foreign Prince, Person, Jurisdiction, Superiority, Pre-eminence, or Authority Ecclesiastical or Spiritual within the Realm of Great Britain or the Dominions thereunto belonging.

"I, A.B., do solemnly sincerely and truly acknowledge profess testify & declare that King George the Second is lawful & rightful King of the Realm of Great Britain & of all others his Dominions & Countries thereunto belonging, and I do solemnly & sincerely declare that I do believe the Person pretending to be Prince of Wales during the Life of the late King James, & since his Decease pretending to be taken upon himself the Stile and Title of King of England by the Name of James the Third, or of Scotland by the name of James the Eighth or the Stile and title of King of Great Britain hath not any right or title whatsoever to the crown of the Realm of Great Britain, nor any other the Dominions thereunto belonging. And I do renounce & refuse any Allegiance or obedience to him & do solemnly promise, that I will be true and faithful, & bear true Allegiance to King George the Second & to him will be faithfull against all traitorous Conspiracies & attempts whatsoever which shall be made against his Person, Crown & Dignity, & I will doe my best Endeavours to disclose & make known to King George the Second & his Successors all Treasons and traitorous Conspiracies which I shall know to be made against him or any of them. And I will be true and faithfull to the succession of the Crown against him the said James & all other Persons whatsoever as the same is & stands settled by An Act Entitled An Act declaring the Rights & Liberties of the Subject, & settling the Succession of the Crown to the late Queen Anne & the Heirs of her Body being Protestants, and as the same by one other Act Entitled An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown & better securing the Rights & Liberties of the Subject is & stands Settled & Entailed after the Decease of the said late Queen, & for Default of Issue of the said late Queen to the late Princess Sophia Electoress & Duchess Dowager at Hanover the Heirs of Her Body being Protestants and all these things I do plainly & sincerely acknowledge promise & declare, according to these express words by me spoken, & according to the plain & common sense and understanding of the same Words, without any Equivocation, mental Evasion or Secret Reservation whatsoever. And I do make this Recognition, Acknowledgement, Renunciation & Promise heartily willingly and truly." [Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, Vol. XVII.]

At Marienborn John Naas was the Elder in charge.

At Epstein Christian Libe was the Elder, assisted by Abraham DuBoy. These congregations soon withdrew to Creyfelt, where John Naas was the senior Elder and Christian Libe was second. Here, too, Peter Becker, who was, so far as we can learn, baptized at Epstein by Elder Libe, ministered to the congregation. Peter Becker was not an ordained Elder in Europe. He was, however, a man of great fervency in prayer, and the leader of the singing in the congregation. He was not a good speaker, and led a very quiet life, drawing many to him in love and sympathy. He organized the first emigration of members to America, and landed with a goodly number at Germantown in 1718. The Germantown members were, therefore, at the first a branch of the Creyfelt congregation.

In addition to the ministers named heretofore, should be added the following who joined the congregation before 1715: John Henry Kalkleser, of Frankenthal; John Henry Trout, Heinrich Holzapple, Stephen Koch, and others.

In this congregation at Creyfelt was a young minister by the name of Hacker (Hager) who was a warm friend of Peter Becker. Young Hacker was a scholarly man, and full of holy zeal. He became acquainted with a young woman whose father was a merchant and, although he had been baptized into the Creyfelt fold, he still preached to the Mennonites, for which service the Mennonites paid him 800 guilders. This father was glad to have young, Hacker as a son-in-law, and in due course of time he officiated at the marriage of Hacker and his daughter. She was not a member of the church. This marriage raised a storm in the Creyfelt congregation. Some said the members objected because Hacker married out of the church; others, because he married contrary to 1 Cor. 7. Whatever the cause Elder Libe and four single Brethren rose up and excommunicated Hacker though John Naas and others wished only to suspend him from the communion. The effect of this action, which seems, after all, not to hinge upon the question of marriage outside the church, but upon the right to excommunicate a member, was disastrous to the cause. Elder John Naas said that above 100 persons who were convinced of believer's baptism refused to join the church on account of this controversy. Other excommunications followed until the church was so badly wrecked that part came to America and others fell away.

Hacker took the matter to heart and he fell sick and died. Peter Becker was steadfastly his friend, and to the end gave him spiritual comfort. Thus the spirit of intolerance and strife was early sown among the members, and Peter Becker with a few followers [Goebel says, "40 families, 200 persons"] in 1719 came to America. The controversy was carried along. It saddened the voyage, and kept the congregation of Germantown from being organized for four years.

Creyfelt was a Mecca for all sorts of persecuted persons and the Creyfelt congregation had many experiences. In 1714 six members of the reformed congregation at Solingen became concerned on the question of infant-baptism, its lawfulness and its necessity. This resulted in their joining the Creyfelt congregation through holy baptism. These six were Wilhelm Grahe, Jacob Grahe, Luther Stetius, Johann Lobach, Wilhelm Kneppers and Johann Henkels. The youngest, Wilhelm Grahe, was twenty-one years old. They were immersed in running water in the river Wupper.

This raised a great storm. The synods of the Berg Province and the Reformed general synod heard of this with deep regret. The secular government called these six Brethren as well as the landlord of Wilhelm Grahe, Johann Carl, before the judge, who was a Catholic. On February 26, 1717, they were taken to Dusseldorf and thrown into prison [the prison of Gulch]. Here they had to endure great hardship, digging trenches, wheeling dirt, performing all sorts of menial services. [For a full account of their sufferings see Goebel's *Christliches Leben*, Vol. III, p. 238 et seq.] This imprisonment lasted four years. In their misery they were visited by Stephen Koch who gave them spiritual consolation. They became quite sick in prison and in their suffering they were also visited by Gosen Gojen and Jacob Wilhelm Naas.

This Gosen Gojen was a Mennonite preacher of the Creyfelt congregation. He afterwards became convinced that immersion was the only Christian baptism, and in September, 1724, he was immersed in the Rhine after the Apostolic manner.

The Jacob Wilhelm Naas named above was a son of John Naas, Elder at Creyfelt, and a member of the congregation of Taufers or Brethren.

This activity of the Creyfelt congregation became the subject of ecclesiastic censure: *ad acta Montensis*, 144, held at Solingen, "The Synod General must learn with regret that several heretofore reformed church members have been by Dompelaers, living at Creyfelt, rebaptized in rivers and other running waters."

Acta Synod General 1719, 21 *ad* 44, "The preachers of the Meuro classe have received the confession of faith of the so-called Dompelaers staying at Creyfelt, and they have sent their 'remonstration' to his gracious Majesty the King of Prussia. However, this *Fratres -II(virsanoë Synodi* report with pleasure that these Dompelaers, who have been so injurious to our church, have betaken themselves away by water and are said to have sailed to Pennsylvania." This is the official ecclesiastical farewell to the pious members who came with Peter Becker in 1719.

'The report of these Brethren from an unprejudiced ruler, shows that the), were the type of men whom posterity can well love.

"The Count's administrator at Schwarzenau could well send in an official report in 1720 to the Imperial Treasurer von Emmerish at Wetzlar and say: 'that for a while pious people have been living here, of whom we never heard anything evil. They kept themselves very quiet and retired and no man ever made any complaint of them. Lately forty families of them, about 200 persons, have moved out of the country.' [Goebel's *Christliches Leben*, Vol. III, p. 776.]

Finally, in 1733, John Naas removed to America. Here Alexander 'Mack reconciled Elder Naas, and he organized the congregation at Amwell, New Jersey. After that Christian Libe was in full charge at Creyfelt. The congregation dwindled away and finally went to ruin. Libe became a merchant and married as Hacker had clone, and in violation of his own rules, outside the congregation.

This was the last organized activity in Europe until the recent mission work in Sweden and Denmark.

And since all the leaders of the church in Europe came to America, excepting Elder Christian Libe, it has seemed best to treat of the details of activity in Europe under the chapter on "The *Leaders in Pioneer Days*," the reader is referred to that topic for fuller discussion of the work in Germany.

After an exhaustive search I have been able to secure a fairly large list of members in the European congregations. This list is by no means complete; but it is vastly more complete than any list yet given to the public, and will not be without value and to those whose hearts warm towards the first members of the church of the Brethren and whose spirits are athirst for the truth. I have thought it best to give in connection with the name such facts as I have been able to glean concerning each one. The sources of this information are so diverse and, in many cases, inaccessible, that I have cited none. The facts, however, have in each case ample justification.

CHAPTER V.

A LIST OF THE MEMBERS WHO JOINED THE CHURCH IN EUROPE.

This chapter consists strictly of a list of names of church members, and we are not including it in this Way of Life edition of *A History of the German Baptist Brethren in Europe and America*.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LEADERS IN GERMANY.

ALEXANDER MACK.

To Alexander Mack the church must ever turn with gratitude and reverence. In the midst of persecutions and in an age of religious fanaticism, surrounded by men of all shades of belief, he heroically stood for the truth as he saw it. Around him, no doubt impressed by his piety and honesty, gathered faithful followers—men and women who abandoned former religious organizations and stood with him for the truth of God as revealed in Christ. To him we are indebted for our church organization and for the principles that bind into a Christian unity the members of God's visible church.

He was born in 1679 at Schriesheim an der Bergstrasse. He was a wealthy man, owning mills and vineyards. He was bred of pious parents and in the Presbyterian (Reformed) faith. He early became dissatisfied with the ecclesiastic domination of the state religions and became a Separatist. With his wife, Anna Margaretha, he endured persecution for his conscience's sake and eventually was obliged to leave home and put himself and family under the friendly protection of Count Henry of Schwarzenau. This was prior to 1708. At Schwarzenau he became identified with the Pietist, Hochmann, and accompanied him upon many of his journeys along the Rhine. On these journeys Mack frequently preached to the persecuted people, and longed for the time when they with his own dear ones might have religious rest and a church home.

During all this time Alexander Mack was a careful student of the Bible and of all theological works. He knew the history of the church from the apostolic age to his own time. Convinced at last that it was impossible to live in the organized churches* and equally impossible: to please God by remaining simply a Separatist he resolved to organize a new church, based upon primitive Christianity and honoring the ordinances as commanded by Christ. Upon the question of baptism he took advanced grounds, insisting that it should be "in flowing water and with complete submersion." [* Pope Leo X. is reported to have said to Cardinal Bembo, "All the word knows how profitable this fable of Christ has been to us and to ours." -- D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation, Book I, Chapter 7.]

Hochmann was at this time in the Niirnberg prison. He inclined to be content with the milder form of pouring. But Mack, his most faithful friend, declared for trine immersion. Concerning trine immersion Hochmann wrote, "Such baptism I would surely observe if God would _awaken' some of his witnesses in favor of it, and if such souls out of the grace of God also were willing to suffer and to risk all for the sake of it, and yet remain faithful to Christ; for such things nowadays are followed by nothing but crosses and tribulations, as antichrist will rage yet fiercely against the members of Christ, and hence one must well count the cost beforehand, if one wants to be able to follow willingly the Lord Jesus in all things. Without this true following of Christ the water baptism, even if performed on adults after the example of the primitive Christians would avail little or nothing." [Geobel's *Christliches Leben*, Vol. III.] He also in the same letter treats of the Lord's Supper, which he had omitted entirely on account of the abuse of it and the hypocrisy connected with it, and which Mack and his followers were resolved to introduce as. an ordinance of the new church. [Luther says an Augustine Monk at Rome in the sacramental service said, "Bread thou art, and bread thou shalt remain: wine thou art and wine thou shalt remain." --Painter's *Luther on Education*, p. 15.] "The foundation of it must be in the love of Jesus and in the real communion of Brethren. Wherever the love of Jesus unites the hearts inwardly and has urged them to hold the outward love feast in the memory of the Lord Jesus, and also allows their life to be changed for the sake of Jesus Christ and his congregation, thus professing with heart and mouth and deed the death of Christ, against that I will not stand, since it is in accord with the Scriptures."

In a subsequent letter he says, " I have no objection if any man for the sake of conscience wants to be completely immersed (*eindumpeln*)

It will be seen that Hochmann did not differ from Mack upon the scriptural right to observe these ordinances. He simply feared that an acknowledgment of them as necessary to a religious life would lead to the sham and formalism he so much detested. Formal religion had so persecuted the pious old man that he even hesitated to reestablish apostolic methods. Mack in this crisis is the real hero. To him consequences were left with God. The one question was, what is right?

Upon this these two friends parted, Hochmann to spend his last days in sorrow and in poverty; black to become the founder and director of a new church. In spite of this it is perhaps true, as cited in the life of Hochmann, that Hochmann did eventually become the disciple of Mack and accept immersion. Goebel says he "upheld the bond of brotherly love" with the Brethren, and at one of the meetings in Switzerland he preached to the congregation. Alexander Mack was , present. He did not approve of Hochmann's discourse and publicly protested against his teachings, and called Hochmann an erring spirit (*Irrgeist*). To this Hochmann made no response, but at the close of the meeting he arose, embraced Bro. Mack, kissed him in a hearty and brotherly manner and said to him smilingly, "When thou, dear Brother, sometime art in heaven and seest me arrive there also, then thou wilt feel glad and say, _See! there cometh also our dear Brother Hochmann."

Hochmann's *Confession of Faith*, written in prison at Detmold in 1702 was well known to Brother Mack. He used it as the basis of the rites and ordinances of the congregation. It expresses more nearly than any other contemporary document the views of the Brethren at Schwarzenau. For that reason it is here given in the original German from a rare old print, and also in a literal translation. The Brethren in America prized it so much that Christoph Saur at Germantown printed it in 1743, and a fragment of, an Ephrata edition has been found.

Hochmann's Confession of Faith (1702).

After it had been announced to me last night that His Excellency had acceded to my dismissal, respectfully requested, if I would beforehand make a short confession of my belief, I have herewith given a short outline of this, as follows:

1. I believe an eternal, sole, almighty, omnipresent God, as he has revealed himself in the Old Testament as the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, but in the New Book as the Father, Son and Ghost (Matthew 28:19), and I do not consider it necessary in my soul to dispute or criticise much about it: but I consider it better to submit one's self humbly to this eternal Godly being in the Father, Son and Ghost and to experience his inner working, just as the Father reveals the Son inwardly and the Son again the Father, and this by the powerful working of the Holy Ghost, without which nothing can be known in Godly things and this too is alone the eternal life, that one should rightly acknowledge this one God, as Christ speaks (John 17:3): and that I may explain myself in few words about this: I profess with mouth and heart the well known old Ausselic Creed, *Credo in Deum*, etc.

2. Concerning baptism, I believe that Christ instituted it only for the grown up and not for the little children, because one cannot find an iota of an express command about it in the whole holy Scripture; for arguments and good opinions cannot be sufficient (hung together) on these points, but there must be express commands, expressed by God or Christ, as there is an express command about the circumcision of the Israelite children.

3. Concerning the Lord's Supper, I believe that it is instituted for the chosen disciples of Christ, who by the renunciation of all worldly things, follow Christ Jesus in deed and truth; and that the covenant of God will be much reviled and his anger inflamed over the whole community, if the Godless children of the world are admitted to the love feast, as, unfortunately! is done at the present time.

4. Concerning perfection (the full coming of the Spirit), I believe that although I have been conceived and born in sinful seed, yet that I may be sanctified through Jesus Christ, not only justly but perfectly, so that

no more sin may remain in me, when I shall have come to complete manhood in Christ. But I do not yet boast of having attained perfection, but I acknowledge with Paul that I am striving to attain it with all earnestness and zeal and am consecrating myself to God and the Lamb to his complete service; but that it is possible for one to become perfect is to be proved from the Holy Scripture on all pages: but this time I will only cite one very clear proverb (Heb. 7:25), in the version of Piscator. He can therefore also make those perfectly blessed, who come to God through him, who is ever living to intercede for them. It is surely not enough, that a great redemption should be done for me through Christ, but this redemption from sin, death, devil and hell must be effected within the soul by the Son of the living God and by his loving and faithful mediatorship, so that not only that which is prophetic, high-priestly, but also that which is kingly must distinguish itself in the soul even to the attainment of the perfect likeness of God and Christ and thus take a spiritual form within us, and if this does not take place actively in the soul through Christ in life-time one cannot attain to the contemplation of God, for without this sanctification no one will see God; for whoever hopes to see God must purify himself, as he too is pure (1 John 3:3).

5. Concerning the sacrament of the Holy Ghost I believe that Christ alone, who is the head of the church, can appoint teachers and preachers and give them the qualification for it. And no being but only Christ, risen above all heavens and fulfilling everything, has appointed some apostles, some however prophets, some evangelists, some pastors (flockkeepers) and teachers, so that the saints may be fitted for the work of the ministry. Ephesians 4:10, 11, Acts 20:28 state expressly that the Holy Ghost (N. B. and not man) had made them bishops to pasture the congregation of God, which he has purchased with his own blood.

6. Concerning high power. I believe that it is a divine ordinance, to which I willingly submit in all civil matters according to the teachings of Paul (Romans 13:1, 7). On the other hand, however, with all true evangelical (believers) I accord no power to those who struggle against God's Word and my conscience or the freedom of Christ: for it is said: We ought to obey God, etc. (Acts 5:29), and if anything should be charged against God and my conscience I should rather suffer unjust force than act contrary to this and I pray that God may not put it to the account of those magistrates, but may convert them; but I further declare that in reference to the *essentia Magistratus Politici* (essential political powers) that it is not a Christ: for the Turk at Constantinople and the Pope at Rome are also true magistrates in the realm of nature, but they are not Christians for this reason; for where a magistracy shall receive the venerable predicate Christian from me, I must feel in it that it has the Spirit of Christ, or else I say with Saint Paul (Romans 8:9), Whoever has not the Spirit of Christ is not his and therefore not a Christian power; but I consider and regard them as heathen powers, who however will soon have reached their time, for I have been infallibly convinced from God's Word that the glorious Christ sitting at the Father's right hand will soon break in and will thrust all the heathen powers from their seat and according to the prophecy of Holy Mary will raise the lowly, for the sceptre of Christ will destroy and break to pieces all other animal kingdoms (Dan. 2:44). Indeed the Lamb will conquer the beast and its horns, as is stated distinctly (Apoc. 17:14). These will quarrel with the Lamb and the Lamb will conquer them; for it is the Lord of all lords and the King of all kings and with it the called and chosen and the believers; and now because the Kingdom of Christ is so near at hand, I confess that I as a spiritual statistician have learned from God's Word to reflect more upon the rising sun of justice than upon the high powers of the world soon to depart; for that will last into the eternity of eternities, but these will soon have reached their limit (*periodum*), by the great impending judgments of God.

7. Finally, as concerns the restoration (redemption) of damned men I do not see how this is the place to carry it out, since it demands a circumstantial deduction, if it is to be understood distinctly and clearly; I will only here add very briefly that as in Adam all men have fallen, so also must all men be born again, through the other Adam, Jesus Christ; if this were not so, it would necessarily follow that Christ were not powerful enough to restore the human race which was lost through Adam and in this connection the chapter of the Epistle to the Romans can be read and from this may be seen how the restoration in the mediatorship of Christ has been much stronger and more mighty than the fall of sin in Adam. 1 Cor. 15:22 is stated explicitly: For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. But, as has been mentioned, this matter (*materia*) can not possibly be carried out in accordance with its dignity, but it demands a word-of-mouth deliverance, if all the objections and doubts occurring herewith are to be explained from the Word of God.

And since these are the most important points, which at the present day are questions of controversy, I wished to draw them up in short form herewith and have to hand them over to a high authority of the country with the added hearty wish that God the Almighty may light them up with his light; and since I might have no opportunity to appear before the high authorities of this land: I therefore herewith give my due, humble thanks to God the Almighty and then to in), most gracious master for everything good that I have enjoyed during my stay here. May God who is rich in mercy reward everything good done me, in time and eternity; and may he soon allow the earnest pleadings and prayers for the master of this house, for his wife, and the whole house to be fulfilled, so that every curse may be turned and that on the other hand the spiritual blessing of God may be revealed therein. And although I may not be present any more in this land or house, henceforth, I shall not leave off continuing my heartfelt prayers to God the Father of the spirits of all flesh for the soul of the most loved Frederick Adolph, and as long as I live I remain the most humble intercessor for the whole house of the Count. E. C. H v. H.

In Castle, Detmold, in the month of November, 1702.

As soon as the church was organized at Schwarzenau Alexander Mack became its pastor and guiding spirit. He was the instrument in God's hands for a great work. The congregation prospered. Branch congregations were created, and finally at Creyfelt an independent congregation was organized. When Peter Becker came to America in 1719 Mack was in full sympathy with his coming and even then looked forward to the time when he could also come to America. The death of Count Henry at Schwarzenau led to violent persecutions and the mother congregation under Mack fled to West Friesland [Seidensticker says they found a refuge in Rustringen, Ost Friesland] for protection in 1720 Here some Hollanders were won to the church. But news of the good work at Germantown reached the exiled Brethren and they decided to come to Pennsylvania.

Accordingly about thirty families including Alexander Mack, his wife and three sons sailed in the ship Allen, under command of James Craigie, from Rotterdam, via Cowes, and after a tempestuous and perilous voyage of seventy-one days they landed at Philadelphia, September 1729. [*Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Vol. XVII, p. 18.]

At Germantown Alexander Mack found a warm welcome, and the hearts of all were cheered and comforted at so large an increase in the membership. Over this congregation he presided with great wisdom and skill. He went to the Schuylkill (Coventry) and ordained Martin Urner as bishop of the Coventry church. Thus the succession in ordination came through Mack and Urner to all succeeding bishops of the church. In his ministry he was assisted by Peter Becker, and the Germantown congregation became a center of great influence. The work of Mack attracted the attention of Christoph Saur who removed from the Conestoga country to Germantown in 1731, and in Saur's house Mack and Becker preached for many years, until a son of Mack and the son of Saur took the oversight of the church and managed it with great skill and piety until they were gathered to their fathers.

Mack was a man of quiet spirit. He never antagonized anyone, but always held to the faith he loved. He was not easily convinced of any new doctrine, and he looked with suspicion upon all movements and men at variance with the plain teachings of the Bible. On one occasion a preacher of unusual eloquence was canvassing the country and holding meetings among the Brethren, although he was not a member of the Brethren Church. At length this man came to Germantown. Here he drew a large audience, including many of Bishop Mack's members. They gave such glowing accounts of the eloquent divine that Mack at last consented to hear him. At the close of the meeting Mack was asked what he thought. He answered, "Oh, he might do very well for an army chaplain but not at all for a minister to a peace-loving people. I advise you not even to hear him."

About a fortnight after this in Philadelphia a regiment, about to leave for a distant point, wanted a chaplain. The man whom Mack had characterized as suited for such a work strangely enough went to the city, applied for the place, was accepted, and went along with the regiment. Thus was Bishop Mack's prediction fulfilled to the very letter.

In 1700 Alexander Mack was married to Anna Margaretha Klipgen, a native, of the same place as Mack and about the same age. To them were born three sons and two daughters: Alexander, John Valentine,

Johannes, Christina and Anna Maria. The daughters died young. His wife and sons accompanied him to West Friesland in 1720, and to Germantown in 1729.

The sons all joined the church at Germantown in their seventeenth year as also did Christopher Sower. From this we may, perhaps, infer that Mack taught that the proper age for membership was at least sixteen years.

Alexander Mack, Jr., became bishop at Germantown and his relation to the early church is so important that he will be discussed in a succeeding chapter to which the reader is referred.

Valentine Mack became a member of the Ephrata community in 1737. He married Maria Hildebrand, daughter of John Hildebrand. She died August 11, 1758. To them was born a daughter known at Ephrata as Sister Constantia. This daughter died October 31, 1782, aged fifty years and three months. She never married.

Valentine Mack died at Ephrata in 1755. He was the author of an important work, entitled, "Christian Maria Hildebrand was known in the Ephrata Sisterhood as "Sister Abigail."

Day Guide (Tagweiser) of the seven days of the human tree in which by a mystic chronology is proven how near the end of the six days of strife and hardship and the seventh day and great Sabbath of the people of God is coming. Which chronology has not been figured out by the rotations of the material heavens, but out of the rotations of the divine mystery and paradisaical heaven by which in the household of God since the commencement of the world, the mystery of eternity is revealed to mankind and time changes into eternity, and makes out of the seven periods of the human world seven eternities. Given to light by Johan Valentine Mack, 1753."

This important mystical work is not noted in Seidensticker's or Hildeburn's works, and seems to be entirely unknown. I was fortunate enough to find a record of it in a letter from John Hildebrand, Mack's father-in-law, to Christoph Saur and Alexander Mack, dated "Ephrata, the 20th of December, 1759." The volume was read in the Ephrata brotherhood by a great many brothers, including Conrad Beissel and Peter Miller, both of whom pronounced the work of a high order.

The work treats of the creation of angels; the fall of Lucifer; the creation of this world; the creation of Adam and Eve; their fall, and reestablishment after the fall by the Redeemer, Jesus Christ. Upon a study of the chronology, based upon Daniel 8:13,14, he predicts the end of the reign of Antichrist in 1777, after which the Gospel is once again to be preached in a powerful way to all nations, and the earth will become filled with the knowledge of the Lord. The work was written the year of the author's death.

It will be seen from this that Valentine Mack was a man of considerable ability, and in religious zeal a type of the life his father had to contend against all his days. It is to be noted that it was not until the death of his father that the young man and his wife were drawn to Ephrata.

Concerning John Mack little is known. He was a member of the church in the "Antitum" region, in the Cumberland Valley, where he stoutly resisted the introduction of Seventh Day influences and where he died, loyal to his religion.

Alexander Mack was the author of *A Plain View of the Rites and Ordinances of the House of God*, and of answers to Gather's *Thirty-Nine Questions*. Both works were published at Schwarzenau in 1713. The immediate occasion of their composition is to be found in the fact that at Schwarzenau a large number of Separatists and others sought to enter the congregation without becoming subject to the ordinances of the church. "The good Alexander Mack felt constrained to write a little tract, in which he showed them that each tribe must hold its own standard. When Mack came to America in 1729 he found a sad state of affairs. The Germantown and Coventry Brethren were faithfully following the true practices of the church. But in the Conestoga country Beissel and his followers had withdrawn, rebaptized themselves, formed a new community, observed Saturday as the Sabbath, and began to proselyte in the faithful congregations. Concerning Mack's reception, Peter Miller says, "This reverend man would have well deserved to be

received with arms of love by all the pious in common after all that he had suffered in Germany, especially from his own people;" but Mack was a firm believer in the doctrines of the church and could not countenance innovations. He learned at Germantown of the strange conditions in the Conestoga country and his heart was saddened. He prayerfully resolved to visit his own people and to suspend fellowship, as the Germantown congregation had previously done, with the followers of Beissel.

In October of 1730 Brother Mack visited the members at Falckner's Swamp, accompanied by several of the Brethren. Beissel, it seems, came to the same place at the same time and conducted services in the house of John Senseman. To his meeting went Alexander Mack, evidently for the purpose of opening the way for a reconciliation. Mack made an address to the people in which he piously exclaimed, "The peace of the Lord be with you." To which Beissel replied, "We have the same peace." Mack proposed that both parties should betake themselves to prayer to ascertain which of them was guilty of the separation. Then Mack and his followers fell upon their knees and he offered up a fervent prayer. At the conclusion of the prayer Mack enquired the reason for the separation. To which Beissel replied, censuring the Brethren for coming to the meeting, and refusing to consider their differences.

At another time a visit was made to Ephrata in the hope of a reconciliation. But Beissel hid himself away and the meeting did not occur. It will be seen from this that the influence of Bishop Mack was exerted for a reconciliation on the ground of a confession and a return to the faith and practices of the church. Beissel would not accept the proffered terms. He later on did offer to drop all differences, and to fellowship with the Brethren; but this could not be done for the reason that no confession of wrong was proposed, and hence union was impossible.

That this unfortunate division saddened and shortened the life of Alexander Mack is doubtless true. He died February 19, 1735.

What a life of persecution he endured! Driven from his prosperous home and his property at Schriesheim, he found refuge at Schwarzenau. Persecuted and exiled from Schwarzenau in 1720 he found a refuge in West Eriesland from which place, in 1729, he fled to America only to find here, in the land of religious liberty, discord and disunion. In his life he exemplified the doctrine his followers love, founded a church that has steadily grown to splendid proportions, and won the admiration and respect of all persons. In his death, he drew his sorrowing followers still closer to him and bequeathed to his people a rich legacy of truth. On the anniversary of his death let his Brethren recount his services, retell the story of his life, and rededicate themselves to the cause for which he lived and died.

2. JOHN NAAS.

Among the great preachers of the church in Germany the name of John Naas stands equal to the best. Naas was, next to Mack, the most influential and successful defender of the faith.

He early identified himself with the persecuted ones in the Marienborn district and finally with them settled at Creyfelt. Here he was active in the discharge of his duties as elder of the congregation. He was born about 1670 at Norten in Westphalia, and was twice married. His first wife died in Germany. By this marriage -he had at least one child, a daughter, who became the wife of Brother William Grau at Creyfelt. His second wife, Margaret, and a daughter, Elizabeth, accompanied him to America in 1733, a married son Jacob Wilhelm, remained in Germany until 1735 August 26, 1735, forty-five emigrants, late inhabitants of the canton of Bern in Switzerland, in the ship Billander Oliver, Samuel Merchant, Master, landed at Philadelphia. In this number teas Jacob Wilhelm Naas and his wife Mary

John Naas was a liberal man, and in administering the office of elder at Creyfelt, greatly endeared himself to the members. With the congregation, he opposed Christian Libe and four single brethren in their efforts to expel the young minister Hocker at Creyfelt. This led to a controversy between Naas and Libe in which the former called the latter a pill-monger and withdrew from Creyfelt and lived in great pain and retirement, perhaps in Switzerland, until he was urged by Mack to come to America.

George Adam Martin calls him "the incomparable teacher," and again "the blessed teacher."

John Naas was a man of commanding figure. In the year 1715, accompanied by Brother Jacob Priesz, he traveled through the country from Creyfelt to Marienborn and Epstein, proclaiming the Gospel of our Lord. At this time Creyfelt was under the control of the King of Prussia. The king's recruiting officers were canvassing the country to secure recruits for the Prussian army. Every one of sturdy appearance was compelled to enter the service. The king was especially anxious to secure tall, strong men for his own body or life guard.

John Naas was just such a man. He was a head taller than any other person in the community, and was possessed of a stout, athletic constitution, combined with such grace and nobleness of demeanor as almost to strike a stranger with awe. Priesz, on the contrary, was a small, feeble man.

One day they met the king's recruiting officers, whereupon Naas was seized and urged to enlist. He refused. They tortured him to compel him to submit. These tortures consisted of pinching, thumbscrewing, etc. But he steadfastly refused. They then hung him up with a heavy cord by his left thumb and right great toe, in which painful and ignominious position they meant to leave him suspended until he should yield to their demands.

This did not cause him to consent, and, fearing that they would kill him if they longer continued their barbarous torture, they cut him down and dragged him by force into the presence of the king.

They explained to the king what they had done and told the king how resolutely and stubbornly he withstood their efforts to enlist him. The king eyed Elder Naas closely and said, "Why, yes! we would much like to have him. Tell me why you refuse to enlist."

"Because," answered the noble Christian, "I cannot, as I have long ago enlisted in the noblest and best army; and I cannot become a traitor to my King."

"And who is your captain?" asked the king.

"My Captain," answered he, "is the great Prince Immanuel, our Lord Jesus Christ. I have espoused his cause, and cannot and will not forsake him."

"Neither will I then ask you to do so," answered the noble ruler, handing him a gold coin as a reward for his fidelity. The king then released him.

It may be of interest to know that the historic Rhine was the scene of a remarkable baptism. The record of the event is found in the printed "Apology" of Alexander Mack, Jr., in which, as the title in full reveals, a defense of trine immersion is made. He adds personal testimony as follows:

"I have to testify before God that in these cold, Western countries, in the short time of my pilgrimage here, over a thousand people, of various natures, have been baptized by immersion, and, indeed, many of them in the cold winter. I have not heard of a single one that had caused to him the least harm or affliction to the health of his body. On the contrary, conscientious men bear testimony that they had had infirmities and lost them through the Word in water baptism." I shall relate only one example from among a large number. Something more than 66 years ago (hence before 1722), there was in Europe in Chur Pfaltz in Rheindecken, in a little village close to the Rhine, not far from Mannheim, a sister who had long been sick and bedfast so that her friends did not believe that she could get well.

"It now pleased Providence to let it so happen that a teacher of Anabaptism, by the name of John Naas, came to visit some friends at this place. He dwelt with godly conversation in order to edify the friends gathered there, and at the same place where the sick sister was, so that she would be able to hear with them. In this way he caused the sick woman to give ear; and she made known how that she had a strong desire to be baptized after the manner of the early Christians.

"Her friends that were present made objections and expressed their doubt of the advisability of attempting such a thing, because she was so very weak that she could not be taken to the Rhine; and even if she could be gotten there with a great deal of trouble and pain, she might die in the hands of the baptizer, which would be the cause of a great wrong.

"John Naas, however, went to the sick woman's bed, spoke with her and said: _Have you faith (do you believe) that this work of the Lord can yet be performed to your sick body?' She answered, _Yes.' Thereupon he said, _I also believe it, so let it be undertaken with thee.'

"At this the friends withdrew their objections and made preparations to satisfy the sister and her faith. They took her up, dressed her for baptism, and led or carried her by both arms, with much suffering, into the Rhine. There she knelt down in the name of Jesus and was by John Naas immersed in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. After this there was the laying on of hands, and prayer offered over her, and she was healed. She went up out of the water with great rejoicing before all the others, and when she came home she ministered to them."

Alexander Mach also held Brother Naas in high esteem and urged him to come to America, forget the unfortunate affair at Crefelt, and join heartily in the Lord's work in America. Glad to be near those of like precious faith and parting with his children and grandchildren, accompanied by his wife and one daughter, he sailed on the brigantine Pennsylvania Merchant John Stedman, Master, from Rotterdam, touching at Plymouth, and landing in Philadelphia in September, 1733. They qualified September 18, 1733.

This voyage was so characteristic of the dangers and trials that beset the early Brethren on the Atlantic that a record of it at length will be found not only of interest in his own case, but as typical of the experience of all the members who braved the sea to find a refuge in the peaceful Province of William Penn.

Through the research of Dr. Oswald Seidensticker, late of the University of Pennsylvania, we have been so fortunate as to secure from Germany a copy of a letter from Elder Naas to his son Jacob Wilhelm, who was then living in Switzerland. The letter is dated:

GERMANTOWN, the 17th of Oct., 1733.

Heartily Beloved Son, ,Jacob Wilhelm Naas,

I greet thee and thy dear wife Margareta, together with her dear children, very heartily The eternal and almighty God give you all much light of grace and faith so that you may not only choose the good in time of grace, but may you also win the true and active faith, in true sanctification and childlike obedience in Christ Jesus. Would that the great God through Jesus Christ might work this within us and in all who love his appearance. Amen, yes; Amen.

As I have been requested by some to describe our journey, I have not been able to refuse it entirely, therefore I will do it in as short a way as possible. [He then refers to a letter of September 15th, from Germantown, announcing their safe arrival, and also to a letter from Plymouth, England, in which he describes the journey from Rotterdam to that place, but which letter is not now believed to be in existence.

The Leaders in Germany:

The 24th of June we went from Rotterdam to within half an hour's distance from Dort, where we lay still, the wind being contrary. On July 3rd we started and the ship was drawn by men several times on the river Maas, as far as the neighborhood of Helvoetsluys. There the wind became favorable so that we sailed into the sea on July 5th, near Helvoetsluys. Then the seasickness began among the people, that is, dizziness and vomiting. The greatest number after having vomited could begin to eat again.

On the 13th of July, early in the morning, we arrived in the port of Plymouth, which port lies in the midst of rocks. We had to lie in the middle of the harbor until the ship was released by the custom officers and provisioned.

On July 21st we sailed into the big ocean and on our left we lost the land, France and Spain. The 24th we also lost it on our right, namely England. The 25th a little child died. It came upon the ship very sick; the next day about 8 o'clock it was buried in the sea. When the body fell from the plank into the water I saw with great astonishment that a large number of big fish appeared and darted quickly away in front of the ship, as if they wished to flee from the corpse.

For ten days we had steadily a good breeze, so that we sailed a long way on the big ocean. The 28th of July, before daylight, a French man-of-war by the name of Elizabeth, came near us. This Captain examined our Captain, in French. After having made themselves known to each other, they wished one another a happy trip and each went on his course. After this day we had very changeable weather so that in three weeks we made only sixty hours about 180 miles, which in very good wind we could have done in one day.

On August 3rd, I got up an hour before day in order to see how it was going, as I had made up My mind to watch the compass during the entire trip, to see if there would be a change in our course. When I reached the ladder, all the people were still asleep and a bedstead was under the ladder, and the coverlet of the people lay high up against the ladder, and during the night it had been raining a little so that it was slippery under the trap-hole, and while I was standing on the top step of the ladder and was about to climb on deck, the people in their bed stretched themselves and unwittingly knocked the ladder from under my feet; then I fell down from the top and with my left side I struck upon the ladder, that I was almost unconscious and lay there a long time before I could get up. Then I had to lie on my back about two weeks till I could get up again and walk a little. At first I feared that I would remain lame, but to the great God be all the glory in his Son, who has caused me to get well again without herbs or plaster, so that I feel but little of it any more.

The 4th the crew early in the morning spiked a big fish with a harpoon. It was as long as an ordinary man and shaped in its head like a pig, also in body and insides like a pig.

The 7th of August during the night again a little child died and in the same hour a little boy was born, and the dead child buried at sea on the 8th.

The 11th and 12th we had a storm, which was not very strong; however, it lasted forty-eight hours, so that all the sails had to be reefed, the rudder fastened, and the portholes boarded up, so that we were sitting in darkness, while the force of the waves struck through the porthole glass into the beds. Some people always have to vomit during every storm and strong, stiff winds.

On the 13th again a little boy was born. The 17th we had another storm, which was much stronger than the first for six or eight hours and blew the sea very high up. It lasted for one and one-half days and one and one-half nights, but towards the end was not so strong. Sails, rudder, holes, everything was hurriedly fastened up and left to wind and sea. After that it grew so calm that we did not get much from the spot during several days. During this time the people got well again from dizziness and vomiting. Then we got again strong wind from the side by which we made good headway.

On the 23rd of August again a child died and was buried at sea that evening.

The 26th, about 5 o'clock P. M., we passed by a mast standing fast, the point of which showed a half yard above the water, quite immovable and with ends of rope still on it. By good fortune our ship passed it at about a rod's distance. The Captain had just been drinking tea. Many people were very much frightened by this sight, because it was impossible for this mast to be standing on the bottom and it yet was immovable.

The 30th the last mentioned man again lost a child and it was buried at sea that night. Then we saw the first little fish with wings flying over the sea for two or three rods.

On September 6th in the morning the First Mate spiked a dolphin, which are quite different from what they are pictured in Germany. This day we had much heat and little breeze.

The 7th, another big fish was caught by the crew, which is called shark. The crew took a hook, which was very large and strong and of about a finger's thickness; to this they fasten one and one-half pounds of bacon. When they saw the fish near the ship's side they threw the hook with the bacon to him, which he swallowed at once and since the fish was very thick and five feet long and of great strength in his tail, as well in as out of the water, they drew him into the ship with a very hard pull, and drove back all the people, so that it should not hurt anybody, as he struck the deck so powerfully with his tail that if he should have hit any one against the legs, those would certainly have been struck in two. But after the ship's carpenter had cut off his tail with his axe after ten strokes, his strength was all gone. His mouth was so big that he might have swallowed a child of two years. The flesh the Captain ordered to be distributed to the delighted people.

On the 11th again a little child died, without anybody having noticed it until it was nearly stiff, and the 12th it was buried at sea.

The 13th a young woman, who had always been in poor health, died in childbirth and was buried at sea on the 14th, with three children, two of them before and now the third the one just born, so that the husband has no one left now.

On the 16th in the morning about four o'clock a woman fifty years of age died; she had not been well during the entire trip and always repented having left her native place. She was buried at sea that same day.

And since the trip owing to the many changes of wind had lasted somewhat long and the greater number of the people had all consumed their provisions and their conception (imagination or expectation) was always set upon six weeks from land to land, they had gone on eating and drinking hard, from morning until late at night. Then at last they found it a great hardship to live on the ship's fare alone; thus the greater number so entirely lost courage that they never expected to get on land again.

On the 17th a small landbird, which they call the little yellow wag-tail in Germany, perched down several times on our ship, that the people could have a good look at him. This caused great rejoicing among them, that they clapped their hands with joy.

On the 18th a ship from Rhode Island came up to us. It had a cargo of sheep and other things, in order to sail to the West Indies, which our Captain spoke through a speaking tube; after they had made their arrangements they reefed their sails on both the ships, since there was but little running anyhow and our Captain had a boat lowered into the water and rowed with four seamen to their ship. When they had drunk the welcome together, he returned and brought with him half a bag of apples, a goose, a duck, and two chickens and distributed the beautiful apples at once among the people. That caused great rejoicing to get such beautiful American apples on the high sea, and those which were still left over he threw among the people to grapple for them, and they fell in heaps over one another for the beautiful apples.

On the 19th, a strange looking fish came upon the ship. It was shaped like a large round table and had a mouth like two little shallow baskets. The same evening a large number of big fish came from the north towards our ship and when they had reached the ship they shot down into the deep, in front, behind and under the ship, so that one could not see one any more on the other side of the ship.

On the 20th again a young married woman died and was buried at sea the same night, and on this evening again came a large number of countless big fish from the north which one could see from high above the water and which did just like the former, that one could not see one on the other side of the ship. Thereupon we had a very heavy fall of rain that some people caught half kegs of water, only from the sails and from the Captain's cabin. This was followed by a powerful windstorm from the northwest. The sea rose up so high, that when one looked into it, it was just as if one were sailing among high mountains all covered with snow; and one mountain-wave rose over the other and over the ship so that the Captain and First Mate and the Cook were struck by a wave that they kept not a dry thread on them; and so much water

poured into the ship that many people's beds, which were near to the holes were quite filled with water. The holes were hastily boarded up, the rudder bound fast, and the ship was, with a very lowly-reefed sail set sideways to the wind, so that it should not roll so hard on both sides. The storm lasted the entire night with great violence, so that without any fear one could well see that it was not alone the seaworthiness of the ship that it could weather such powerful blows, but that it was preserved in the Almighty hand of the Lord, in order to make known to man his might.

To him be above all and for all the glory, Amen.

Not a human being remained on deck, but one sailor who was tied fast in order to watch by the rudder; all the rest, the Captain, the mates, the seamen crawled into their beds in their wet clothes, and the ship lay sideways to the wind always on its side so that it drew water all the time, which however, poured out again. At midnight the waves struck so hard against the portholes aft, that two boards sprang away from the windows where part of the people lay in sleep and slumber, and the water rushed in through the window, as big as it was and straight into the beds, which caused a great terror to those who lay near the window. The water took away a board together with the rope; we all sprang up because the friends who lay near the window had not tied the board fast enough and the misfortune might have become a very great one. We took a woolbag, which was handy, and stopped the window up and the other one with the board, that was made fast again.

The ship's carpenter the next morning made a new window board. The storm also abated a little and thus the anxiety of the people grew a little less and towards two o'clock in the afternoon it cleared, the wind ceased, and the portholes in the ship were opened, and it was beautifully calm weather. Then the Captain quickly ordered a kettle of rice to be boiled, in order that the people might get something warm to eat that day and night for their supper.

The 22nd at noon the ship lay as still as a house, then the people dried their clothes again. A good breeze sprang up at dinner time and blew all night, so stiff and so steady that one did not know in the ship that it was moving and yet made two miles and a half in one hour. At midnight the first soundings were made, 150 rods deep, and no bottom found.

The 23rd at nine o'clock another sounding was made and at 55 rods ground was struck, at eleven o'clock at 35 rods; shortly after, 20 rods; and yet we did not see any land, but were nearing the river [Delaware]. Then the people became very joyful on account of the good breeze and the ground being found. But the Captain did not trust himself to reach the river by daylight; since one could not see any land even, and at four o'clock in good wind he reefed the sails, and had the rudder tied fast, because there are many sandbanks in front and inside of the river.

Early in the morning all sails were set again and we headed for the river although the breeze was not very favorable and there was a heavy fog. Then again they made soundings and found 15 rods, and an hour later 7 rods. At twelve o'clock we saw the land with great rejoicing. Towards half past four we neared the river, for one is still six hours away from it when one gets in sight of it. Meanwhile, I and the Captain caught sight of three boats sailing towards us; then the Captain cried, "These are the pilots or steersmen." One could hardly see them among the waves. Then he had all the sails set and was very glad that the pilots came to meet him. The first one who came he did not accept, but when the second came, whom he knew, he took him into the ship at once, intending to sail into the river that same night, however, when we were on both sides against the land just in front of the river, suddenly from the southwest a storm broke loose such as we had never had yet. Then all had to help reef the sail, and the anchor was thrown out for the first time. There we lay fast, and the water had no longer such a great power because it had not more than 7 rods of depth. So we lay at anchor all night and the storm soon ceased.

The 25th, early in the morning, we weighed anchor, set sail, and tacked into the river. We saw there on both sides with so much joy as can easily be imagined, the land and the beautiful trees near the shore just as if they had been planted there.

On the 26th the before mentioned last born baby died and was buried in the river. That same day during the night we sailed into the narrows of the river, which is indeed very delightful to see, as wide as the Rhine where it is the widest, and on both banks are the most beautiful woods and groves and here and there houses stand on the banks which have fish nets hanging to dry in front of them.

The following day, the 27th, we passed New Castle with little breeze and in a very dense fog. This town lies forty miles distant from Philadelphia. Since we had very little wind we had to sail mostly with the tide or with the current of the water, therefore we sailed during the 28th, and on the afternoon of the 29th we arrived safely in Philadelphia.

We were met by brethren and sisters in small boats who brought us fine bread, apples, peaches and other refreshments of the body, for which we gave thanks to the Highest publicly on the ship near the city, with singing and ringing shouts of delight. With many tears we praised and glorified the Lord for having preserved us in his Father's hand, and having carried us as on the wings of the eagle so that we all could meet again in love on this side of Eternity. See, dear children, brethren and friends, this is in short the description of our journey across the very big sea.

If I were to relate everything how things went with the people on the ship, there could be much more to write and it grieves my heart, when I remember that I so often told them when on the ship, I did not think that with all the unclean spirits of Hell there could be worse going on with cursing, swearing, blaspheming and beating [fighting], with over eating and drinking, quarreling day and night, during storm and weather, that the Captain often said he had taken many people over to this country already but had in all his days never yet seen anything like this. He thought they must have been possessed by the demons [devils]. Therefore they made such a good picture of Hell, although to us they were all very kind, friendly and helpful and they held us all in great fear. The Captain often threatened he would order some of them to be bound to the mast and to be whipped by his sailors from head to foot, still they remained bad.

Now I will report some more experiences in regard to the great danger and hardships of the journey to Pennsylvania.

The danger of this journey is this; if God should be against one and were willing to work His revenge and justice against us, no one, of course, could escape from him, as little as on land. Another danger would be if one went in an old bad ship upon the big sea, or with a ship master who was a tyrant or ignorant of sailing. But, if the Lord is not against us, which must first be settled, and one has a good ship and good sailors then the danger is not half so great as one imagines it. The Lord sustains Earth and Sea and one in and on the other, therefore also the vessels upon the sea and those who have gone up on high or down into the deep, and the eternal Jehovah has rescued them, they all shall come to him and shall praise the name of the Lord who does great wonders to the children of men.

The hardships, however, of this journey consist of many kinds and things; but for myself I have not to say of many, on the contrary of but few hardships on this trip; but others have seen and experienced a great deal, especially firstly when people start on this trip who are not obliged to enter upon so great a journey.

Secondly, when people start this enterprise without any reason, and sufficient deliberation and for the sake of material purposes.

Thirdly, when people break up to move and especially married people when they are not fully agreeing with one another to begin such a long journey.

These three things are the main reasons of all difficulties on this long journey, for I can say with full truth that on six or seven ocean vessels I have heard of few people who did not repent their journey, although according to the declaration of the greatest number only extreme necessity had driven them to it. Although there were a good number of educated people among them, yet it was with them too, on account of the sad decline in their business affairs by the hard oppression of government, that caused them to leave or to become poor, and as poor people they could no longer help themselves from getting into debt and becoming beggars. Nevertheless they so much regretted having started on this journey that some became

sick of it and were so furious that often they did not know what they were doing. Neighbors accused one another. Husband, wife, children fought bitterly. Instead of helping one another, they only added to the burden of each and made it every hour more unendurable, seeing that such people are obliged to be pent up together for thirteen, fourteen or fifteen weeks, what an amount of trouble must follow with such natures! Then one can never do what one wants on a ship. Then there are some who will consume all the food they have taken with them while the ship's fare is still good, this they will throw into the water. But later on when the ship's fare has long been lying in the salt the water grows foul smelling, so that rice, barley, pease and such can no longer be boiled soft in it then the people have devoured and drunk everything they had and then necessity compels them to begin with the poorer stuff and they will find that very hard; and because the people live so closely together some will then begin to steal whatever they can get, especially things to eat and drink. Then there are such quantities of lice on the people, that many persons are compelled to louse for a whole day at the time, and if one does not do this very frequently they might devour one. This was a very great hardship for all the people and for me as well.

Now that we have safely arrived in this land and have been met by our own people in great love and friendship all the rest has been forgotten in a moment (so to speak), for the sake of the great joy that we had in one another. This hardship has lasted about nineteen weeks; then it was over, wherefore be all the glory to the Highest: Amen, yea; Amen!

For it does not rue us to have come here, and I wish with all my heart that you and your children could be with us; however, it cannot be and I must not urge you as the journey is so troublesome for people who are not able to patiently submit to everything, but often in the best there are restless minds, but if I could with the good will of God do for you children all, I assure you that I would not hesitate to take the trip once more upon me for your sake; not because one gets one's living in this land in idleness! Oh! no; this country requires diligent people, in whatever trade they may be-but then they can make a good living. There are, however, many people here, who are not particularly successful; as it seems that if some people were in Paradise it would go badly with them. Some are to be blamed for it themselves; for when they come to this country and see the beautiful plantations; the number of fine cattle; and abundance in everything; and, knowing that they only just have come here too, then they want to have it like that at once and will not listen to any advice but take large tracts of land with debts, borrow cattle and so forth. These must toil miserably until they get independent. Well, what shall I say, so it is in the world, where always one is better off than the other. If a person wants to be contented here with food and shelter, he can under the blessing of God and with diligent hands get plenty of it. Our people are all well off; but some have more abundance than others, yet nobody is in want. What I heard concerning the people who do not have the money for the passage, surprised me greatly, how it goes with the young, strong people and artisans, how quickly all were gone, bricklayers, carpenters, and whatever trade they might have. Also old people who have grown children and who understand nothing but farm-labour, there the child takes two "freights" [fare for two] upon itself, its own and that of the father or of the mother for four years, and during that time it has all the clothing that is needed and in the end an entirely new outfit from head to foot, a horse or a cow with the calf. Small children often pay one freight and a half until they are twenty-one years old. The people are obliged to have them taught writing and reading and in the end to give them new clothes and present them with a horse or a cow.

There are few houses to be found in city or country where the people are at all well off, that do not have one or two such children in them. The matter is made legal at the city hall with great earnestness. There parents and children often will be separated 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 19, 20 hours [in distance] and for many young people it is very good that they cannot pay their own freight. These will sooner be provided for than those who have paid theirs and they can have their bread with others and soon learn the ways of the country.

I will make an end of this and wish patience to whomsoever reads this. God be with you all, Amen.
JOHANNES NAAS.

N. B.--Now beloved children what more shall I write? It might perhaps arrange itself that you should come over here, then the writing would have an end, but if you do not come I shall some other time know more to write. Therefore, I will close for this time and commend you all with your dear children to the infinite

love of God, who may lead and guide you himself that you do not enter upon the path of the sinners and do not sit where the scoffers sit, for that would not be good for you.

The acquaintances, Brother Settlers, outside of Gundrich, are in eternity; the others send hearty greetings: Brother Becker, Brothers Gantz, Gomrey, Ritter, Paul, sen., with Brother Mack, the old and the young Zeiglers, and his people, all send greetings and many other brethren and sisters who do not know you, and whom you do not know--all greet very heartily those who fear the Lord at Creyfelt.

Your in-love-faithfully-united father,

JOHN NAAS.

P. S.--The mother and Elizabeth greet you heartily, they will do so yet in their own hand. Do not forget to greet heartily all who ask news of us in love, even if their names were not mentioned.

When the vessel carrying Brother Naas arrived at Philadelphia he says they were "met by brethren and sisters," at the head of this band of welcomers was Alexander Mack. Whatever differences may have existed at Creyfelt between Brother Naas and Brother Libe were here in prayer and contrition dropped; and, accompanied by four families, Brother Naas went soon to Amwell, New Jersey, where he was elder of the congregation from its inception till his death, Way 12, 1741. This congregation was most prosperous under his direction and was the means of sending a large number of able Brethren into the Lord's vineyard. He is buried at Amwell by the side of his wife and twenty children. [Doubtless his spiritual children. His grave is not marked. The number of children as given above as buried at Amwell is from a report made in 1786. It shows that the Amwell congregation was large.]

In 1736, a delegation of Brethren from Germantown went to Ephrata, no doubt, for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation between the Ephrata congregation under Beissel and the church. Beissel knew of their coming, but was absent in the Tulpehocken country, and did not return to meet the Brethren. The purpose of this visit was thus thwarted, although the members at Ephrata received them kindly. "Among the visitors (from Germantown) was an old and venerable preacher, who had but recently come from Germany; his name was Naas." [*Chronicon Ephratense*, pp. 91,92.]

Brother Naas was favorably impressed with much that he saw at Ephrata, especially the beautiful way of child-training, and the quiet life in the houses. He afterwards met Beissel for whom he seems to have cherished a kindly regard till his death.

At Amwell Brother Naas was visited by George Adam Martin, who says, "I was much edified by his conversation, and pleased and surprised at his great and sound mind, and the gifts which God had bestowed upon him." [*Ibid.*, pp. 249.]

He was survived by his widow and children. [His daughter, Elizabeth, married Hannes Landes, of the Conestoga congregation.] In 1755, 12th of the 8th month, Conrad Beissel wrote from Ephrata to Jacob Mohr, Sr., at Amwell, and in this letter he says, "Should I not also remember the beloved aged Sister Naas, who is still written in my holy book of remembrance? Oh! how glad I would be could I once more behold her face. I have to report to the same sister that the love, which I bear to her and the entire godly race is beyond all measure. This will probably be and remain a quite inexhaustible fountain for time and eternity. [From Manuscript Letter Book of Conrad Beissel, pp. 67-68 This valuable and important manuscript is note the property of the writer.]

Bishop Naas was a scholarly man. He composed a number of hymns; two of which were included in *The Little Harp*, second edition, Baltimore, 1797, published by Samuel Sower, son of Bishop Christopher Sower. It is, of course, impossible to give a translation that will preserve the metre of the original.

THE LITTLE HARP.

The third string sounds beautifully and lovely of the power of God in the way of sanctification.

Melody -- True Father.

1. One thing grieves me much on the earth, that so few are saved: Oh, what am I to do, because so many people are dying, and going to miserable destruction. Who can help but be concerned?
2. Alas! how can it happen that so many go to ruin, alike from all ranks; A few enter into Life, but numberless are those that are outside. Oh, what can be the cause?
3. Very easily is this answered, for men full of envyings live not as pleases God, but follow only their own lusts, as if they did not know better that the way to Heaven is narrow.
4. Oh, what vanity is to be seen! behold how proudly men pretend to go about, each wanting to be the greatest. Pride increases every day, and men strive only after great honors. Can one go thus to Heaven?
5. Eating, drinking, banqueting, dancing, playing, living always after the flesh,--can one enter into Heaven thus? Then woe unto the pious, scarcely shall they prosper!
6. Little do men care now for lying! What is more common than deceiving? Just as if it were an honored art! He who is in the right must be a loser. Men honor false affairs. It is money and favor that hold sway now.
7. How common is cursing, swearing, and terrible blaspheming against God, the Lord. Do not the children understand this a little? Therefore no wonder that men should be destroyed, that young and old should die in their sins and go down into hell.
8. To injure the honor of his neighbor, to persecute him, and to envy him is not this the common course? One informs against another, whatever he thinks he says of him; do not the most of the people thus?
9. What more do men pretend to care for, than to strive with all power after vain wealth and money, gold and silver, great treasures which destroy the souls of men. But this is what the whole world seeks and loves.
10. Those who possess these strange goods shall suffer grievously on account of them eternally in hellfire. Although many know this, and their wicked consciences condemn them, yet they do not leave off from them.
11. He who strives rightfully after virtue, remains constant and faithful and endeavors to please God, he will be mocked at and derided by all. One sees this happen every day without any fear or hesitation.
12. Oh, thou child of man, turn thee! behold how Christ himself can teach thee! Look upon his acts, upon his ways. He is the truth, the way, and the life! Only be willing to grant him proper attention,--no better advice can be given thee.
13. Dost thou wish to build for thyself in Heaven and expect with confidence a desired blessing,--mark well what is pleasing to God; be humble before all men; humility is thy basis.
14. Without the true love on the earth, no man will be saved. He who loves God rightly loves his neighbor also. He who wishes to exercise love rightly abstains from deceiving any one and provoking God.
15. No one may follow his own lusts, but must overcome his wicked desires, if he will enter into Heaven. He who would exercise his own wantonness, must remain out of Heaven, for according to this, the reckoning will be made.

16. To suffer poverty gladly and willingly and not to avoid persecution is the food of the elect, to praise God out of a pure heart, to suffer willingly all pain; happy is he who has learned this.

17. Dost thou wish to be saved? Then live rightly on the earth; keep Thyself in the small company; then after this short life, God will give thee an eternal one,--will take thee up into His kingdom.

18. Ah, well! so may it always be, and may I always do, as God wills on this earth. Lord, wilt thou then strengthen me in thoughts, words, and deeds that I may be ever blessed! [JOHN NAAS.]

The fifth string sounds of meekness and humility which are learned of Christ.

Melody.--The Bride of the Soul.

1. Savior of my soul grant that I choose Thee and Thy cross in this life, and that I may surrender myself wholly to Thee. Grant that I choose this, Savior of my soul.

2. Then is my soul led to the light; Thy whole blessed life went through many tribulations, through the way of sorrows: through this shall I also come to the true light.

3. Reach me Thy hand, I am not able to follow Thee rightly, Oh Jesus, without the balm of Thy soul. Therefore reach Thy hand to him who cannot stand.

4. Oh Lord, Jesus Christ, how is Thy light, so far away in these dark times; send me Thy light, send me Thy light, Oh Lord, Jesus Christ.

5. I am encompassed about by the spirit of the world, which knows well how to cunningly disguise itself as an angel of light. Save me, Thy child, from this base rabble.

6. Oh Jesus, look within, that Thy spirit alone may rule my whole life, willing to go with Thee in death, because time passes away and nothing shall remain.

7. Jesus, Thou, the Word, remainest forever and ever; through Thee is everything created. What Heaven and earth embraces, all shall pass away; but Thou alone shalt remain forever.

8. Ah, grant me grace that I may follow Thy path with a lengthening of mine, and endure all in Thee. Send me grace that it may guide me.

9. Alas, I am ashamed of myself when I consider Thee, how Thou hast suffered for me, and hast overcome the world, the devil, and death. I am ashamed when I consider Thee.

10. Because I am so often indifferent as a wild animal in the forest, I run in the throngs of the world. I have my course not turned toward Heaven. This makes me afraid as often as I think thereon.

11. Jesus, I beg Thee, come again, show me in spirit Thy wounds, then shall I find the salvation of old. Come once again, Jesus, I pray.

12. Ah, make me hasten through the arrows of Thy love. Let my heart be again wounded. Let me feel the pains of the arrows of Thy love. Make me hasten.

13. Oh Lord, Jesus Christ, is it scarcely any wonder, that so many souls go wrong, and reach the thought, as Thou, Thyself hast spoken: "My Lord comes not yet"?

14. When Thou art silent things go as they will; men follow their own willfulness; they fulfill the desires of the flesh; when Thou art silent things go as they will.

15. Oh God give Thy judgment to Thy Son, who is also a king on the earth. Through this shall all Satan's craftiness soon be destroyed,--through Thy righteous judgment.

16. Oh Jesus, call out of their strange bondage many souls which honor Thee. Oh Lord, if Thou wouldst convert them, that they may yet come out of their strange bondage.

17. Oh Lord, Thou alone hast the power. Vindicate Thy glory. Dearest King, Jesus Christ, it has, indeed, cost Thee thy blood. Alas! Therefore vindicate Thy honor! Oh Lord, Thou alone hast the power. JOHN NAAS

3. CHRISTIAN LIBE.

By a strange coincidence a man who never saw America is directly responsible for the organization of the first congregation in America, on Christmas day, 1723. That man was Christian Libe, a native of Epstein, Germany. He was early united with the church of the Brethren and called to preach the Gospel to the Brethren in the Marienborn district; Abraham Duboy, of the same place, being his assistant.

Persecution in this part of Germany drove the members to Creyfelt. But Elder Libe became a missionary to the persecuted Germans and Swiss. Christian Libe was an eloquent, gifted evangelist, and his voice was heard all along the Rhine Valley in defense of the faith he loved. He pressed into Switzerland and boldly preached the religion he loved in the city of Basle. He was arrested and asked to renounce his faith. This he refused to do.

He was sent to the galleys, and had to work the galling oars by the side of criminals, for two years. He was then ransomed and came to Creyfelt, where he was under the senior eldership of John Naas. This was about 1722.

Here he was active in the work of the Lord and preached the most eloquent sermons. But his zeal, like that of many others was not born of knowledge, and he was intolerant and oppressive. His action in the Hacker case has been already noted. He began to antagonize and provoke Elder Naas, and at a church council an open rupture occurred. It is to be inferred that Libe's popularity was such in this case that he was able to win the congregation to himself, and Elder Naas withdrew from the Creyfelt congregation. That Brother Naas did not hold resentment is shown by the fact that when, in 1733, he wrote to his son who was at Creyfelt, he sent his Christian and brotherly greeting to Brother Libe.

In August, 1723, news came to the scattered Brethren in Pennsylvania that Christian Libe had arrived in Philadelphia. People from the Schuylkill region came to Germantown to hear him preach. Some came as many as forty miles to hear- the widely-celebrated preacher. Libe was not in America, but Peter Becker invited these men and women to the meeting of the Brethren and taught them the doctrines of the church. They returned, and then the Brethren at Germantown went up to Martin Urner's place on the Schuylkill and six persons applied for baptism. Their request was granted on Christmas Day. So it was the influence of Christian Libe's preaching that brought the first converts to the church in America, and that led to the organization of the Germantown congregation.

Christian Libe's eldership at Creyfelt was not successful. His zeal waned, the congregation languished,

persecution began to be felt, members were cast into dungeons, and the membership removed or fell away. Elder Libe became a merchant, and eventually a wine merchant, and at last, in violation of his own principle, as announced in the Hacker case, he married out of the congregation. Thus the most flourishing German congregation, and the most eloquent evangelist alike passed away.

4. STEPHEN KOCK.

Among the Creyfelt members who came with Peter Becker to Germantown in 1719, no one affords a better illustration of the mystical influences that saddened and retarded the growth of the church than Stephen Koch.

Before 1715, he was a minister at Creyfelt, but not an ordained elder. With the more consecrated element of the congregation he engaged in active evangelistic work, traveled much, preached fearlessly, lived nobly. When he came to America, he allowed the spirit to decline. In 1723, he was at the first love feast, a humble member; but the collected membership chose Becker to conduct the services. Whether this in any way affected the zeal of Brother Koch is not known. Perhaps he already had developed such traits of mysticism as to render his leadership unwise. At all events, the Ephrata community had a charm for him.

In August, 1726, the Brethren at Germantown paid a fraternal visit to the Conestoga congregation, then in full fellowship, and presided over by Conrad Beissel. On this visitation Henry Traut and Stephen Koch left the party and visited Jacob Stuntz.

Stuntz came to America in 1720 with Beissel and Steifel. Stuntz paid Beissel's passage to Boston. He also, in 1721, accompanied Beissel to the wilderness and lived a solitary life. About 1724, Stuntz sold the house in which he and Beissel lived in order to recover the money advanced to Beissel on coming to America. This caused Stuntz to suffer the displeasure of Beissel. When Beissel joined the church, Stuntz also became a member. Stuntz married, and under the censure of having married a near relative, Beissel placed him under the ban.

To restore Stuntz to fellowship was the purpose of Traut and Koch's visit. In this they were successful. But in doing so they incurred the censure of Beissel who claimed that he alone had the power to restore Stuntz to the communion of his brethren. Beissel, therefore, not only renewed his opposition to Stuntz, but censured these brethren as well.

In December, 1728, the Conestoga congregation divided and Beissel organized the Seventh Day Society.

In the meantime Stephen Koch lived a solitary life at Ephrata and gradually yielded to the influence of the Pietists on the Wissahickon. From this time he began to have ecstatic visions, one of which he reported to John Lobach at Creyfelt who published it in *Geistliche Tama*. It was reprinted by Christoph Saur in 1748 and is here given in full. [Several old and newer stories of apparitions of spirits, and something of the state of the soul after Death. Besides several visions of some people who are still in life. Second enlarged edition. Printed by Christoph Saur, 1748.]

Stephen Koch's Vision.

[Pp. 24-31 of the above volume. *The Third Vision*; which Stephen Koch in Germantown had in 1732 and which he has described to his friend Johann Lobach Messerschmitt at Creyfelt and which has been published in print, anno 1736, in Germany, in the *Geistliche Fama*, XX selection.]

"Saturday, December 9, 1732, &c. When I awoke early in the morning before daylight, I was much depressed in mind as I considered the uncertainty of this miserable life, and how it is surrounded with so much unrest and so forth. These thoughts moved me to deep sighs and longing for eternal rest and happiness. During this meditation and yearning for rest I was transported out of myself, and it appeared to me that I found myself on a journey to some one, to whom I would have to come that same day. On the way I strayed and lost myself. While I was yet looking about me, there came up to me a beautiful man, the like of whom I had never seen in this world. When he came near me he inquired how I had come there. I said: I was to have visited a sick man and lost my way. Then he was very friendly to me, and said if I would go with him he would take me to a more beautiful place than I had ever seen before. I said: Yes, I would come with him. Then I suddenly came to myself again. Oh Gods who is that? Or, where will it go to? But I composed myself again, and showed my willingness to go along. Then he said I should give him my hands, and should place my feet on his, and close my eyes a little while. I did so.

"Then it seemed as if in a gentle breeze we were wafted through space. And he brought me to the brink of a beautiful stream of water, which was so wide that I could not well see across it and the scenery about it was uncommonly fair and lovely and I felt so well that all the days of my life I never experienced anything like it. When I was wonderingly gazing at this beautiful, large river he asked me what sort of a water that was. I said I knew it not. He told me the name of it, but the name sounded strange to me and I could not remember it. At last he asked if I wanted to go across. I answered: Yes. Then he took hold of me as before and carried me across swiftly.

"We came into a country the beauty and loveliness of which no man can tell. Yes; I was quite astonished at all I saw and heard there. For I heard from a distance the sound of innumerable voices of people and all manner of instruments blended in such harmonies, that it sounded right lovely towards me. These words I heard: 'He is the only one to whom alone belongs the glory!' After this he brought me to a beautiful city, the streets of which were of pure gold. There I saw innumerable hosts of people, all clothed in white. I gazed at them all in wonderment, it seemed to me as if they all were swaying in space and praising God. Yes, they were floating up and down and continually praising and glorifying Him, who lives from Eternity to Eternity. And wondering at what I heard and saw, I thought to myself, Oh! that is an eternal uprising and sinking down again in the bottomless sea of God's love! Oh, how calm! Oh, how well!

"Meanwhile he took me and carried me upon a beautiful, high mountain, and said, 'This is the Mount of Zion, the castle of David!' Then I looked about me, as far as I could see, and beheld a fair, even valley with an innumerable crowd of people, all clothed in white, floating up and down and praising the eternal and good God in an inexpressible way, and in such sweet melodies that no man can describe them. And I was quite in an ecstasy at all this, that I heard and saw. After seeing and hearing this for a while he took me back again to the before-mentioned city, and when I looked upwards I saw a wondrously shining firmament. Altogether it was incomparably beautiful and indescribably glorious and unspeakably fair.

"Since I knew no one among all these people, I sighed, Oh God! If I only could see someone that I know. Then some one came as if floating towards me and spake to me in a very friendly manner. 'Ay, where comest thou from, in thy old body and old garments?' I was frightened, and answered, 'This person has brought me here. He asked me if I knew him?' I said, No. He said, 'I am Hochmann (who died at Schwarzenau). Behold now, here is the glorious city of God, the peaceful realm of Zion and the blessed company of the souls who are saved, of whom thou hast heard me speak before this, when I was yet with you. Here is the earth, of which Jesus says, that the meek shall possess it! Here is the contrary of the old world! For the souls who follow the Lord Jesus through cross and sorrow patiently unto the end, enter this blessed place of rest.' After these words he seemed to be flying away from me! But I was in very deep thought and drew a sigh and wished that I could see some one else I had known in life.

"Then again I saw a person come flying toward me, who said to me in a friendly manner, 'Stephen, how earnest thou here in thy old garments and thy old body?' I answered, 'This person has brought me here. She asked me if I knew her. I said, No. She said, 'I am the Benzin (an aged widow) who formerly dwelled among you (she died in Germantown). Seest thou, now, I am in this place of blissful rest, whereof I have so often talked with thee. In those days I felt often a little of this place, when I sank my soul down in God when I absorbed myself in God; but it never lasted long and I became again distracted, and in new unrest had to seek for rest once more, until I entered into this place of rest and peace, yes; of eternal well-being, where there is no more change nor dread of a change. To the love- and praise-worthy God be glory in eternity.' And thus she was lifted up from me and rose upwards towards the beautiful firmament so far that I no longer could see her. As long as I could hear her voice I heard unspeakable words in praise of God.

"After this I turned my eyes towards the large hosts, which still as before were floating up and down and praising God in beautiful harmony and in such words as a mortal tongue cannot tell. I thought: Oh! this is the unfathomable love of God, a continual uprising and down-sinking in the eternal peace of God! Oh how calm! Oh how well was it with me! I cannot tell and relate it! Meanwhile the beautiful man stood always beside me, and after all this he reminded me that I would have to leave again, which indeed grieved me; yet I resigned myself, and said: I should like to see the opposite of this blessed place; namely, the place where those go who live so wickedly and ill. He answered, 'Thou shalt see it.' And he took me as before, and brought me rapidly to a big sheet of water, which looked gloomy and miserable. The whole country appeared to me desolate. I was quite still and he said nothing.

"He also brought me across the water into a desolate country. In this neighborhood I heard pitiful howling, even so that my heart was grieved.

"After this he brought me to a city and placed me on a tower which was over the city gate. There I saw an innumerable crowd of people in clothes of many colors. The whole country seemed to be shrouded in a sort of evening twilight gloom, so that one could barely see thing. I saw and heard their labor. It was unblessed and full of unrest. Their crying was incomprehensibly crazed and confused. What one made, the others would break up; and there was a continual strife and unquietness among them all. There were some who wanted to straighten out legal cases, but it only grew worse and worse, so that I became quite weary over this unblessed screaming and restless work that I saw and heard. I begged him then, to take me from hence as I could no longer endure to see this direful condition.

"Then he took me in the same manner as before and brought me to the brink of the fair river opposite the beautiful country where he had taken me first. When I got there I was feeling well again! He asked me if I knew who he was. I said, No. He asked, if I had not before this heard or read of people in Old England, called Roscrucians? I answered that I had never read anything about them, but I had heard people tell that there had been such persons who could make gold. Then he told me very kindly he was one of them, and I should go with him to see his house which was full of gold and precious stones. I gladly went with him. It was exceedingly fine.

"Then he asked if I now wished to return home with him? I said, Yes. Again he took my hand and brought me into the neighborhood of Germantown into a certain lane. And there I opened my eyes and it was bright daylight, and all our folks were up already, and I was there alone and felt indeed that I was yet in my old body and in the old garments. These things have made such a deep impression on me that since then I have often sighed deeply, wishing: Oh God! let me by thy grace in Jesus Christ be prepared in such a manner, that when some day I depart from this vale of tears, I may join the blessed in that place of rest and there praise and glorify Thee forever and ever! Amen!"

In this ecstatic state his mind was possessed of strange ideas. He was seized with great spiritual unrest. He began to question his conversion. He says, "The deeper I searched, the more I became aware that in my deepest nature I was still lacking that true change of heart, without which the peace of God which passeth all understanding, could not reveal itself in me. From this I could well see that there was nothing else for me to do but to repent anew and be heartily converted unto God. Wherefore I constantly prayed to God, that for Jesus Christ's sake he would graciously regard me, and cleanse me from all my transgressions."

Two additional circumstances added to his mental agony. He was betrothed to a widow and the solitary life of the Pietists caused him to fear that marriage meant the loss of the highest religious experience. At the same time he suffered great physical pain from *calculi*, "so that I often lay two or three days in the greatest extremity, and had death ever before me."

From the horrors of this combination of agonies he declares he was miraculously delivered in the following manner:

"On the 3rd of May, 1735, at Germantown, as late at night I went into the orchard, it being bright moonlight, there came to me a delightful odor, partly from the blossoms of the trees, partly from the flowers in the garden, whereat I sobbing spoke to God: _O, my God, everything is in its order and contributes to Thy glory and honor, save I alone! For I am created and called by a holy calling to love Thee above every thing, and to become a pleasant savor unto the glorifying of Thy name. Now, however, I behold the contradiction, for I not only do not love Thee as I ought, but am also become an evil smell in Thy nostrils. Alas, unfortunate that I am! I gladly would love God, the highest Good, but I cannot. The world with all its glories cannot satisfy my sad spirit; for I ever see before my eyes spiritual and bodily death.'

"While I lamented thus to God it seemed to me as though suddenly a flame of God's love struck into me, which entirely illumined me inside, and I heard a voice say to me: _Yet one thing thou lackest.' I asked, What is it then? The answer was, _You do not know God and never have really known him.' I said, Yes;

that is so; but how shall I attain to it? Then it seemed as though I was beside myself. When I came to myself again, I felt an inexpressibly pleasing love to God in my heart; and on the other hand all anxiety with all the temptations of the unclean spirits had vanished. Yea: it seemed as if all my transgressions were pardoned and sealed, and day and night there was nothing else in my heart but joy, love, and praise to God."

The intensity of this rhapsody of the midnight soul can best be appreciated from his words as cited above. To Alexander Mack the younger he made known his spiritual experience and aroused him to unusual zeal. They soon lived in the same house. [They moved together April 12, 1736.] With them lived Henry Haecker. To Brother Henry Kalckglasser, also a preacher, he made known his wonderful awakening. The effect of all this was great unrest in the Germantown congregation. At about this time Stephen Koch saw in a vision a beautiful virgin come into the meeting. She preached wonderfully concerning sanctification and a life of virginity. In the other half of the house occupied by the three single brethren lived Valentine Mack and his wife. Soon they, too, were aroused.

Alexander Mack, the founder of the church, was in his grave. His wise counsel was missed. The influence of Elder Peter Becker could not stem the rising tide of mystical and Beisselian influences. A number of the congregation decided to remove to Ephrata. With this exodus of members on March 27, 1739, went Stephen Koch.

The remainder of his life was spent among the single members of the Ephrata community. He was a victim to the spirit of religious unrest that at this time swept German America. The Germantown church could not receive his teachings. His position naturally led him to Ephrata. Here he lived many years, under the name of Brother Agabus. The records of Ephrata contain these words: "Brother Agabus in the Lord fell asleep the 7th of July in the year 1763. He was already an Old Warrior of Jesu Christi, in Germany, with the Pious, where also my parents were too. He is well, can we say in Peace elevated?"

5. ABRAHAM DUBOY.

Abraham Duboy was an eminent preacher both in Germany and in Pennsylvania. He was born at Epstein in 1679, was brought up in the Presbyterian (Reformed) faith, and joined the church in the Marienborn district in 1712. Three years later, owing to persecution, he fled to Schwarzenau and was here called to the ministry, as assistant to Elder Mack. He had a great love for the founder, and when, in 1729, Alexander Mack came to America, Brother Duboy resolved to accompany him. This, for some reason now unknown, he did not do. In 1732, however, he took passage on the ship Pink John and William, of Sunderland, Constable Tymperon, Master, from Rotterdam, and landed at Philadelphia, Oct. 17, of the same year. He resided some years on the Perkiomen Creek in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. In 1738 he was called to the Great Swamp congregation, where he remained a faithful preacher until death claimed him, March 21, 1748.

He never married. He was a modest, zealous and earnest man. Like Koch he had a number of remarkable visions. Among these was a strange presentiment of his own death. One morning when he arose he informed the family with whom he lived that the time of his departure had come. He dressed himself in a shroud which he had prepared for the occasion, and asked the family to join with him in singing Johann Arndt's beautiful hymn: "*Nun fahr ich hin mit Freuden, ins rechte Vaterland,*" etc.

After the singing he delivered a fervent prayer and, reclining on a couch, he quietly breathed his last.

6. JOHN HENRY KALCKGLASSER.

John Henry Kalckglasser was born in 1696. He came to the mother church at Schwarzenau. He frequently assisted Alexander Mack in the public services, although he was not an ordained elder. He was not a gifted speaker, and was much given to retirement and meditation. He married in Europe, and his wife, Agnes Margaretha, accompanied him to Germantown in 1729. They formed a part of Mack's company, from which I infer they were also exiles in Holland between 1719 and 1729.

In Germantown he purchased forty-two acres of ground and, no doubt, engaged in farming. After the death of Alexander Mack, Kalckglasser was the oldest preacher in the congregation. This means that he was longest in the ministry. He became infatuated with the experiences of Stephen Koch and on one occasion asked Koch about his latest experiences. Stephen hock related at length his ecstatic experiences. This greatly moved Brother Klackglasser. He said to Koch, " O, I know your condition very well, for I was in the same state along while; but through the various occurrences one meets therein, I fell away from it again. Now I will learn anew to walk before God." [*Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 100.]

Especially was Brother Kalckglasser carried away with Koch's views on celibacy. Although he was a married man, he longed for the celibate state and in his public discourses at the Germantown meetings he delivered new and strange doctrines. He even declared he was not truly converted.

His brethren remonstrated in vain. They reminded him of his long years of service as a preacher. They recalled the many he had immersed. The power of mysticism was upon him. With others he attended meetings in the forest near Germantown. Then they walked the streets hand in hand, attracting much attention. Many of their meetings were held at night. Finally, in 1839 a company of these brethren and sisters, in all about eighteen, went to Ephrata and joined the Seventh Day Society under Beissel.

Usually when members of the German Baptist Brethren joined the Ephrataites Beissel rebaptized them. In the case of Kalckglasser, however, this was not done. "The Venerable Henry Kalckglasser, one of their (Brethren's) first teachers, was left undisturbed at Ephrata until his death in his baptism received from them." It is also true that after this when some left the Ephrata Society and joined the Brethren they were not rebaptized. It was held, although not without protest, that the trine immersion received at Ephrata should be valid for the Brethren.

At Ephrata he was known as Brother Joel. The register of the society says, " Brother Joel did in the Lord fall asleep 1748 (Feb. 29): his age was fifty-two years. He led in his doings and life a lowly, retired, fervent course of life. What he experienced, gave he never unto day. His death was as if he only cast off his outer shell." His wife died at the same place in 1758.

7. John Hildebrtz.

What a history could be written of the twenty-three who sat at the first love feast in America!

At the head of the Lord's table was Peter Becker, near him was John Hildebrand. Then along the Lord's table sat the others who had crossed the stormy sea together in 1719 and now for the first time were celebrating in America the ordinances for which they suffered and endured so much in Europe. No doubt at the end of the table farthest from Peter Becker sat the six new ones, who that day had been baptized and to whom this was the first sacred meeting in the holy family of the Lord.

Hildebrand was born in 1679. He lived a quiet and peaceful life in Germantown. But, for some reason, the Brethren did not advance him to the ministry. This is all the more to be wondered at when one recalls that Valentine Mack was married to his daughter, Maria. This daughter early joined the Virgin Sisters at Ephrata. She soon after left Ephrata and returned to Germantown where she was married. In 1739 she followed her husband to Ephrata once more. Here she was known as Sister Abigail. This resulted in John Hildebrand's removal also. And after 1739 his days were passed at Ephrata. His wife died in 1757 and he died in 1765.

In 1728 there was a rupture at Ephrata and a number of the followers of Beissel formed a new congregation. They were inclined to return to the Brethren and John Hildebrand and Daniel Eicher were appointed preachers. This congregation finally was merged into the Conestoga congregation, and Hildebrand was with them until he removed to Germantown, and was a preacher of the church there till 1738.

His closing years were not happy ones. In 1741 he drew up a lengthy protest against applying the title "Father" to Beissel. Beissel appealed to the congregation and, by a large majority, he was confirmed in the

title. But at Beissel's death the members declare they had voted the title against their better judgment, and hence that designation was not put upon his gravestone.

John Hildebrand was an ascetic man. He even ate his bread by weight. He was much influenced by the writings of Jacob Boehm. With Beissel he had many controversies. At the time of the Zinzendorf Synods Spangenberg came to Ephrata to proselyte. Against the Moravians Hildebrand wrote a lengthy paper in which he endeavored to prove that the married state originated in the fall of man. He was a delegate to several of these synods. He was older in the spiritual life than Beissel, and felt that his experience should be counted in his favor. He was the author of at least four printed works, of 45, 44, 20 and 159 pages respectively, three of which were published by Saur in 1743. They relate to the Ephrata Society and denounce the Moravians. The fourth was published by Saur in 1747. Beissel, however, never entrusted great services to him; and, neglected, lonely, and no doubt unhappy, perhaps discontented, he passed quietly away.

8. ANDREAS FREY.

When Andreas Frey came to this country is not known. An Andreas Frey did come on the ship Samuel, 1733. This has been by some regarded as the subject of this sketch. Such, however, is not the case.

In March, 1728, there was a revival at Falckner's Swamp. On the eighth of the month Conrad Beissel, still in partial fellowship with the Brethren, baptized eleven persons. In May five others joined at this place. Over this congregation, at its organization this same year, Andreas Frey was made elder.

This action of Beissel's led to a controversy. The Germantown congregation went to Falckner's Swamp and held a meeting at the house of John Henry Hageman. This meeting convinced many of the new members that the Germantown Brethren were right in their opposition to the Ephrata (then called Conestoga) followers of Beissel. Among this number was Andreas Frey, the elder. A long controversy was the result. Finally it was agreed to have a meeting (council) at the house of William Frey to determine who was right.

The Ephrataites secretly sent six emissaries to Falckner's Swamp in advance of the council to prejudice the new members against the Germantown Brethren. The sequel of all this was a failure on the part of the Ephrataites to attend the council. [This is one of the earliest councils in the Brotherhood. Two old congregations were to meet and the new members were to be judges.] Andreas Frey and the members who believed with him that the Brethren from Germantown were right now declared openly against the Beissel party. Over the others Michael Wohlfurth was made elder. He soon resigned in disgrace and threw himself at Beissel's feet for mercy. Following him was Elder John Landes who held the office just six weeks.

W This is one of the earliest councils in the Brotherhood. Two old congregations mere to meet and the new members were to be judges.

Elder Frey, however, remained steadfastly a member of the Brethren and was sent as a delegate to the famous Zinzendorf Synods. Here he took such an active part that he was finally chosen one of the three trustees of the New Church-in-the-spirit. For a full History of the Brethren. account of this see the chapter on the "Origin of Annual Meeting."

Zinzendorf used his persuasive powers upon Frey and eventually won him over to the Moravian cause. Frey sailed to Europe with other Moravians and was active in his efforts to advance their cause.

He was not long with them until he began to question their faith and their practices. He left them and returned to the Brethren and after humbling himself he was again received into fellowship.

In 1748 he issued from the Saur press a volume of 88 pages, the title of which is: "*Andreas Freyen seine Declaration oder: Erklärung auf welche Weise und wie er unter die sogenannte Herrnhuter Gemeinde gekommen,*" etc.

In this work he denounces the Moravians unmercifully. The work caused a sensation. It was rumored that Frey had repented his declaration against them; and, in 1750 he published a notice in Saur's paper in which he says he has not revoked his declaration against the Moravians nor would he do so.

9. OTHER GERMAN PIONEERS.

Lack of space precludes a fuller discussion of many of the earliest Brethren, who have largely influenced the development of the church.

Among the first members at Germantown was John Henry Traut. He was a member at Creyfelt, and was active in the work of the church. He came with Peter Becker's party in 1719

On the first missionary tour in America Henry Traut was a leading spirit. He was, next to Peter Becker, the leader of the members, from which fact, combined with other evidences, I am inclined to believe he was a deacon of the church. He accompanied Stephen Koch on an important mission in 1727; for an account of which see life of Koch. He lived a quiet, godly life, rich in deeds of love, and died Jan. 4, 1733. His loss was deeply felt by the entire congregation.

Heinrich Holsapple, George Balser Gautz, Jeremiah Traut, Balser Traut, and John Jacob Price are also among the worthies of the early church. Brother Price was an active preacher in Germany, traveling with John Naas. They were successful missionaries. Brother Price came to America with Peter Becker's party, was at the first love feast, and, in 1721, settled on a large tract of land on Indian Creek in Lower Salford Township in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania.

This Jacob Price is the father of all the Prices in the Brotherhood. His family has been a remarkable one. Many of them have been and are preachers of ability in the church. Their history is interwoven with the activities of the Brotherhood from its beginning. A fuller account of them will be found in subsequent chapters of this volume.

All in all, these early leaders were godly, fearless, able men. Most of them were not only preachers of power but writers of important works and composers of fervent hymns. They took the infant church to their hearts, transported it to the free soil of Pennsylvania, and planted it far and wide in the hearts and lives of their children and of as many others as their limited opportunities in a wilderness would permit. They did their work, and did it well. Peace to their ashes!

CHAPTER VII.

THE GERMANTOWN CONGREGATION.

GERMANTOWN, mother congregation in America. what a history is thine!

There's a stormy voyage in 1719, a landing at Philadelphia, a procession to Germantown, a dispersion of the twenty families of German Baptist Brethren, and in 1722 a revival spirit; public preaching collects the scattered souls; in 1723, a strange thrill enraptured the membership at news of the coming of Elder Libe; people from the Schuylkill country travel to the city of Philadelphia to hear this man whose eloquence had made him famous in two continents; a meeting is held at Peter Becker's house; a missionary visit is undertaken; and six souls ask for baptism -- this is the beginning of the church in America.

Doubly memorable Christmas Day, 1723! Christ's anniversary and the date of the birth of His church in America! There is an activity at Peter Becker's house in Germantown. The spindles are still; and the voice of praise is raised. Six persons, Martin Urner, his wife Catherine, Henry Landis, his wife, Frederick Lang, and John Mayle, all from what is now the Coventry district, were in the midst of seventeen members, and they were preparing to hold the first immersion in the church in America. There was 110 ordained minister this side of the Atlantic. The members hold a council. Peter Becker is chosen to act as elder. The preliminary examination is held, prayer is offered, and then these twenty-three souls walk out into the winter afternoon, in single file, headed by Peter Becker. They journey to the Wissahickon Creek. The group kneels. Overhead the solemn sentinels of the forest fastness the pines and hemlock are stilled. The icebound stream utters strangely solemn music. Curious eyes from the Kelpianites rest reverently upon the group. Peter Becker's voice breaks the stillness. The prayer is ended. The six candidates for membership in God's family are led one by one into the water and are baptized by trine immersion. The procession returns to Germantown. They assembled in the house of John Gomorry. It is evening now. The oldtime tallowdips are lighted. They gather around a long table, a hymn is sung, and in the silent evening hour, with no witness but God, and curious children, these people begin the observation of the ordinances of God's house on Christmas evening, 1723. The sisters on one side, the brethren on the other, arise and wash one another's feet. Then they eat the Lord's Supper, pass the kiss of charity with the right hand of fellowship, partake of the holy communion, sing a hymn, and go out. It is night! But under God's guidance their acts have been repeated in a thousand twilights, in all parts of this country in all the years that have come and gone; and, please God, We Will repeat them again and again until He shall say, "It is enough Come up higher."

Let us look yet more closely at this company. Who are they? Six are already named. They are babes In Christ. But the other seventeen are warriors of two continents. They had a remarkable career. At the head sat Peter Becker, pioneer preacher in America. He could have told of blessed meetings in Creyfelt and of sermons by Elders Mack, Libe, and Naas. He is not a gifted preacher, but he leads the sacred music that fills the dimly-lighted room with echoes of heaven's choir. His prayers are eloquent and overmastering. He loved God and talked with Him in the full faith of an expectant child of the King.

To his right sat John Jacob Price, who had prayed and preached in the Rhine Valley with Elder Naas.

He was not large in body, but fervent in spirit. There was Stephen Koch, John Hildebrand, Henry Traut and Henry Holsapple, of whom the reader has already heard. They were rich in experiences with God's people in Germany. There was John Gomorry. in whose house they sat, near him were

Jeremiah and Balser Traut, Daniel Ritter John Kempfer Jacob Koch, and George Balser Gans, all sterling men of God.

To the left of Peter Becker sat Maria Hildebrand, whose daughter was destined to wed a son of founder Mack, By her side sat Magdalene Traut, Anna

Gomorry, and Joanna Gans. Seated in their midst were the six new members, twenty-three in all. Who can lift the veil and record this hour's holy service? What thoughts, what emotions, what religious experiences, what covenanted pledges, what rejoicings, moved lips and heart and head! To God only is known the ecstasy of that communion. "Ye know not now; but ye shall know hereafter." Blessed beginning of the church in America; may her latter days be like her first!

The congregation was now organized. The spirit of the Master was upon them. The next autumn the congregation decided to undertake a general visitation to all their brethren in the whole country. October 23, 1724, they started. Their first visit was to Brother John Jacob Price on the Indian Creek. Thence they traveled to Falckner's Swamp and held services at the house of a Brother Albertus, where a meeting was held with breaking of bread; so also at Oley, and then at the Schuylkill (Coventry). Here on November 8, they also held a love feast, no doubt at the house of Martin Uner. At this place two persons were baptized. These two were Peter Heffly and Owen Longacre, Andrew Sell had formerly been baptized at Germantown. There were thus nine members at Coventry.

This was the end of their contemplated missionary tour.

At Coventry, however, news was received that in the Conestoga country were a number of awakened souls. The Brethren decided to continue their journey to the Conestoga. The party divided for the night. Those who were afoot spent the night at John Graff's and the riders at Jacob Weber's. On the 10th they united at Rudolph Nagele's, at that time a Mennonite. From Nagele's they went to visit Conrad Beissel and Michael Wohlfahrt, who at that time were living a solitary or hermit life. On the night of the 10th they lodged with Stephen Galliond. The next day they pushed on to Henry Hohn's. On the 12th a meeting was held at this man's house. Beissel was present. The revival spirit was powerfully manifested. The theme of the Brethren was baptism, the hope of fallen man.

At the close of the meeting five precious souls asked for baptism, Henry Hohn and wife, John Mayer and wife, and Joseph Shafar. They were baptized in the apostolic manner by Peter Becker in Pequa creek. This ceremony was so impressive that a sixth, Veronica, wife of Isaac Frederick, was also baptized. And now a strange event must be recorded! Conrad Beissel saw all this. He knew it was his duty to be baptized. But he had such an exalted opinion of his own religious experiences in his hermit life that he could not submit to baptism at the hands of Peter Becker, whom he regarded as inferior to himself in religious thought. In this perplexity he suddenly remembered that Jesus had submitted to John "to fulfill all righteousness." Consequently, after Sister Frederick came up out of the water, "Beissel came down from his spiritual pride, humbled himself before his friend Peter Becker, and was by him baptized on the same day in apostolicwise, under the water

That evening a love feast was held at Brother Hohn's house. This was November 12, 1724. The following Sunday a meeting was held at Sigmund Landert's house, and Landert and his wife were baptized. The stream was so muddy on this occasion that some of the members protested against its fitness, holding that baptism should be administered as Alexander Mack taught, "in a running stream of clear water." As these people were strangers to the Brethren, Peter Becker addressed the people as follows: "These two persons have applied to us for baptism; but as they are unknown to us in their walk and conversation, we make this announcement of the fact to all men here present, especially to their neighbors. If you can bear favorable witness concerning their lives, it is well, and we can baptize them with the greater assurance; but if you have any complaints to bring against them, we will not do it." This is the first recorded instance of a practice honored by the Brethren to this day. It evidently dates to the beginning in Germany. This is the beginning of the church in Lancaster County. Since the distance was so great, the Germantown members advised these to select a preacher and form a separate congregation. Conrad Beissel was chosen. Then the kiss of peace was given and the Brethren returned to Germantown.

From 1722 to 1732 the meetings were held in the homes of the members generally at Becker's, Gomorry's, Gantz's, Traut's, or Kalckglasser's.

When Mack came in 1729 the number of members was so increased that it was difficult to find a house large enough for the meetings.

In 1732 Christoph Saur, the printer, erected where No. 4653 Germantown Avenue now is, a commodious house, 60x60 feet.

The second story of this house was constructed with partitions hinged to the joist so that when necessity required, they could be swung open and a large audience room was secured. Here the Brethren worshiped until 1760 when the second Christoph Saur was an elder of the church. His increasing family and growing business demanded all the room in the house, and obliged the Brethren to arrange for another place of meeting.

Among the Brethren was one named John Pettikoffer. He is said to have been a poor man. Brother Peter Schilbert gave him a half acre of ground upon which to erect a house. Pettikoffer begged the money for the erection of a house on this ground, which was nearly two miles above what was then Germantown. Because of this begging historians say the town was named Beggarstown (*Bettel Hausen*) In 1739, Pettikoffer and his wife removed to Ephrata, where his wife died in 1748, and where he died in 1769 (September II) It was a long while before Peter Schilbert could gain possession of the ground he had given to Pettikoffer. But it was finally his and by deed dated August 12, 1760 Peter Schilbert donated to Christopher Sower, Alexander Mack, Peter Leibert, and George Schreiber, the Pettikoffer house, and eighty rods of ground for a burial place, in trust for the German Baptist Brethren's church of Germantown forever.

The house was remodeled, the partitions were removed, and here the Brethren worshiped until 1770, when the increased membership required a larger house. At the rear of the Pettikoffer house a substantial stone meetinghouse was begun and completed in the same year, and was dedicated before July 1 For the erection of this house the members themselves gave the entire amount. The building is of stone and is still standing. It is about 32 feet square, with an attic in which were stored the requisites for the love feasts. This attic was reached by a stairway on the outside, long since removed. But the stone-work still betrays the location of the large square door through which it was entered. About 1880 Sister Lehman and a few others had the meetinghouse remodeled. The old attic was removed, the exterior plastered, and new appointments provided throughout. On May 16, 1897, a fine addition to the old meetinghouse was dedicated. This addition was the gift of Jacob Z. Davis, a direct descendant of Alexander Mack. The dedicatory exercises held on this occasion were conducted by the present pastor, George N. Falkenstein. The dedicatory sermon was preached by the writer of these lines from Psa. 122:1-9. During the Revolutionary War, when all of Elder Sower's property was confiscated this meetinghouse narrowly escaped. Solder was one of the trustees in whose name the property was held. For this reason it was seized. But Brethren Fox and Leibert, trustees with Sower, explained that the building and ground were not Sower's, but the congregation's. That he was simply one of the trustees in whose name the title temporarily rested. Finally the representations of the members prevailed and the building was spared, although the yard about it was occupied by the cavalry in the Germantown battle.

When the meetinghouse was occupied in 1770, the old Pettikoffer house became an old folks' home, in which the poor of the congregation were sheltered, clothed, and fed at the expense of the congregation. This is no doubt the oldest home for the poor established by the Brotherhood.

The ground for a cemetery was not so used until the yellow fever scourge swept Philadelphia. Then the Brethren mercifully opened their grounds for burials. This was in 1793. There was need of more ground and the congregation purchased for 430 pounds sterling the adjoining lot, on which was an old log hut, once the Weaver residence, and a good dwelling house, now the parsonage, 6611 Germantown Avenue. Half the purchase money was paid by voluntary subscriptions in 1793, and the remainder on April 1, 1805.

Among the quite early ministers and deacons of this congregation are the following:

Peter Becker 1724-1758

Alexander Mack, . . . 1729-1735

Alexander Mack, Jr., 1748-1803

Christopher Sower,1748-1784

Henry Kalckglasser,1724-1739

Stephen Koch ,1724-1739

John Hildebrand,1724-1739

Such in brief is the early history of the mother congregation in America. Additional facts will be found in the biographic sketches of the leading ministers in their proper places. There are, however, matters of detail that are of interest to the Brotherhood and to the historian.

The Poor Book of the Congregation.

Before me as I write is a queer book. It is in manuscript, and for the most part in the German language. It is the official record of money received and paid by the deacons of the Germantown congregation from 1747 to 1806. The account opens on May 10, 1747. "Today the box was emptied and there was in it of contributions 14 shillings." On June 5th Brother Henry Schlingluff, a deacon, was made custodian of the poor fund, and he was charged with £4, 9s, 3d. On Dec. 25 the box was emptied. It had in it 12s. The total receipts for the year were £11, 16s. 3d.

From this it will be seen that the congregation had a box, later two boxes, somewhere in the meetinghouse, which at this time was the second story of Saur's house. Into this box the members voluntarily dropped whatever sum they felt free to give to the poor fund. Other brethren gave directly to the fund additional sums. The box was opened by all the deacons and the amount charged to the custodian. This Brother Wentz evidently had borrowed from the poor fund prior to May 10, 1747, for I find on Nov. 26, 1748, these words, "Rec'd in settlement with Bro. Peter, 2s." What was done with this money? The next page of the book tells the eloquent story of Christian charity. [It was given to three needy female church members, Sisters Elizabeth, Bayer, and Charitas, and to "a poor man of *Geineinschaft*.]

And so the record goes for fifty-nine years! I notice, too, that the brethren who made the official visit were given money from this fund to take with them and give to whomsoever they found to be in need. On Jan. 31, 1748, the amount so taken was 11s.; on July 24, of the same year, 12s.; on Oct. 2, 12s. 6d, and on Nov. 12, 11s. In this quiet way the ministers were able to add comfort of a material as well as of a spiritual sort to those they found in need. This is practical, helpful Christianity. Do we as fully perform our duty to-day? On June 2, 1748, Sister Maria Stoltz was in need of a Testament, and she was given 4s. 6d. to purchase one. Again on Nov. 26, 1748, "to Christina for her little boy's shoes, 4s." The next year this same sister was given £1, 15s. for her house rent, June 11, and again on Sept. 3, for the same purpose.

I find also such entries as the following taken at random:

Jan. 12, 1752, To a poor woman whose child burnt itself 7s. 6d.

Nov. 18, 1752, To widows for meal (rye flour) 17s. 6d.

Aug. 29, 1758, For the coffin of Sister Charitas 17s.

Jan. 1, 1759, To Sister Gundis for month of January 12s.

Dec. 2, 1762, For wood for the meeting rooms 13s.

Dec. 7, 1762, To Sister Sophie for 1 cord of wood £1, 8s.

July 15, 1763, Paid for the fare of Sister Sophie from Lancaster 16s.

Aug 6, 1763, Paid for taking Sister Sophie back 15s.

April 17, 1776, To Sister Feith, 5s. in money and some sugar and coffee . . . 7s. 8d

When the members met to hold a love feast they donated to the congregation certain sums of money to defray the expenses.

There was a meal given from this at noon and in the evening.

Deacons and Deaconesses.

Brother Henry Schlingluff was deacon before 1747. In 1761, the congregation had a council meeting and elected a second deacon. The poor-book has this entry.

According to a council of love at Germantown in the community of Brethren (*Gemeinschaft der Brüder*) who have vowed to die and to live according to the doctrine of Jesus Christ and to follow in everything the manner and institutions of the apostolic congregation of the first Christians, there has been elected by vote and lot as minister to the poor of this congregation of Germantown, Brother George Schreiber, besides the formerly appointed Brother Henry Schlingluff. But Brother Schreiber had not yet proved himself in the office. The early congregations made no haste to invest men with power and responsibility.

Brother Schreiber had to serve almost five years on trial. Then he was made a deacon in the full exercise of the power attached to that important office, and that too, dear Brethren, by the laying on of hands!

On the 15th of May, 1766, Brother George Schreiber has been confirmed by laying on of hands of the elders, to the service for which the hand of Providence had seized him.

But what of deaconesses? Did the early church have deaconesses? Did Mack's pious perusal of the Holy Word compel him to recognize widows as necessary in the official work of the church? In an extended list of members known to Alexander Mack the second, I find the following: "Brother Jacob Schreder and his wife, the first woman elder of the Demeine. After her husband's death she lived and served the '*Gemeine*' for seven years." This record is from the private diary of Alexander Mack, now in my library. Sister Schreder was called to this office at Schwarzenau. The elder who invested her with her sacred office was the founder of the church, Alexander Mack. But this is not an unusual case. It was the first but not the last. Note then the following from the Germantown poor-book:

Anno 1769, the 20th of August.

According to the Council of the Holy Ghost (1 Tim. 5:9,10 in the community of Brethren and Sisters of Germantown, and according to the manner and regulations of the Apostolic congregation of the first Christians, was elected by vote as a ministress (Deaconess) the Sister Margaretha Bayerin.

Here then is the official record of the election by vote of Sister Bayer, an old widow. above seventy years of age, to the office of Deaconess. What has the church of today to say in regard to this? Have we removed any of the landmarks which our fathers have set?

There was a happy day in the Germantown church in 1731. Luke Vetter, one of the original eight at Schwarzenau landed at Philadelphia on September m, 1731. He had crossed the Atlantic on the ship Britannia Michael Franklin, Waster, and was accompanied by his son David, aged twenty-one; his daughter Margerita aged eighteen; and his daughter Sophia, aged thirteen. Doubtless his wife was dead and he yearned to see once more the face of Alexander Mack and wife, Andreas Bony, Johannis Kipping and wife, who with him had received holy baptism at the first immersion in Schwarzenau. No doubt, there were tears

and prayers, and old Alexander Mack, perhaps, welcomed him to his own little one-story house, which he had built on the half acre of ground he purchased in Germantown.

John Naas came two years after and was warmly welcomed. Elder Naas reported in a letter to his son that the Brethren were all well-to-do in Germantown. That this is true is apparent from the following facts: Heinrich Holsapple owned seventy acres of ground; John Mack, two acres in Germantown and eighteen in Roxborough; George Traut, twenty-eight acres; John Pettikoffer, one-half acre; Peter Becker, twenty-three acres; Balser Traut, twenty-five acres; Christopher Sower, six acres; John Henry Kalckglasser, forty-two acres; Peter Schilbert, two hundred acres; Johannis Schneider, two hundred acres in Oley Township and one hundred acres in Salford Township; Henry Schlingluff fifty acres; Heinrich Frey, fifty acres; George Balser Gantz, or Ganz, forty acres in Springfield Township. From this it is evident that the early Brethren were frugal and industrious. They came here poor, having given all for religion's sake, and before 1734, they were among the leading land owners of the colony

As early as 1738, the Germantown congregation held regular services on Sunday in the house of Christoph Saur, whose only son became a member in 1737. In addition to this Sunday service the congregation held a weekly council meeting on Thursday, and a meeting for the unmarried on Sunday afternoon. It was at this unmarried members' meeting on Sunday afternoon that the Ephrata spirit of discontent was propagated. The result was, indeed, sad and almost disheartening. Many of the congregation decided to follow the lead of Stephen Koch instead of the wiser counsels of Peter Becker; and in March, 1739, the following members removed to Ephrata: John Henry Kalckglasser and wife; Valentine Mack and wife; John Hildebrand and wife; Lewis Haecker and wife; John Pettikoffer and wife; the widow Gorgas; and the children of the above families. At the same time the following unmarried members accompanied them: Henry Hoecker; Alexander Mack; John Reismann; Christian Eckstein; Elizabeth Eckstein; Martha Kinsing; and Miriam Gorgas.

This was a sad day for the Germantown congregation. Some of these became leaders at Ephrata and a few, including Alexander Mack, soon repented of their mistake, returned, and were received into full fellowship again.

Christian Eckstein became the physician of the Ephrata community. His preceptor in medicine was Dr. Medar, from Germany, who was expelled from the Ephrata Society in 1749, because he refused to be baptized.

Lewis (Ludwig) Hocker was also a leader at Ephrata. He became the schoolmaster of the congregation and in 1749 a building (Succoth) was erected for his use. He opened a Sabbath school. This Sabbath school he maintained for more than thirty years before Robert Raikes began his Sunday school work.

There is evidence to justify the claim that the Germantown congregation had a Sabbath school before 1738. The meeting for the unmarried held every Sunday afternoon was doubtless a Sunday school. Ludwig Rucker may have been the leader of this meeting. In 1744, Christoph Saur printed a collection of 381 tickets, upon each one of which is a scriptural quotation and a stanza of religious poetry by Gerhard Tersteegen. These were evidently used in the Brethren's Sunday school. A set of these tickets in excellent condition is now in my possession.

It is well to note that Sunday Schools, Council Meetings, and an Old Folks' Home were instituted by these early Brethren.

In 1761, as before stated, the place of meeting was changed to the house erected by John Pettikoffer. It stood immediately in front of the present meetinghouse. The Poor Book contains this record:

"December 27, 1761. Through the Society's consideration, and decision of the Brethren, it was thought well that the money which is contributed to the box in 1762 should be expended in improving the meetinghouse. For this purpose [there was given £46, 18s., 6d.]

The balance in the treasury, together with half the sum in the box in 1763, was used to further repair the meetinghouse. From this unusual expense it is safe to infer that no other meetinghouse was contemplated

for some time. It was, however, in 1770, found that the Pettikoffer house was too small for the growing congregation and the present stone structure was erected.

A walk in the old cemetery fills one with the profoundest emotions. Here under tall pines, in the quiet of death's doings, rest the men and women who lived and died for the church of the Brethren. It is to be hoped that at no distant day a history of these children of God may be written that the world may know who they were and how they lived. The simple inscriptions on the marble slabs are mere texts to the historian, from which he may write an entrancingly interesting story.

Among the many graves is an unmarked one before which one pauses for meditation deep and long.

"All I crave is the pearly drop from Charity's meek eye to dim a little my numerous follies as I journey to the grave. And when laid there, let silence with my quiet dust reside, nor marble tell the passing traveller where the wandering pilgrim sleeps. And yet, there is a sound too that I could desire might perfume the air around my grave, and a balm I hope will flourish there. I mean the widow and orphan confessing me their friend in life--this would be fame sufficient."

And her wish, thus written in 1826, is fulfilled. Harriet Livermore, the "Pilgrim Stranger, sleeps in an unmarked grave in the Brethren burying ground in Germantown. What a career was hers! Born at Concord, N.H., April 14, 1788; the daughter of Edward St. Loe Livermore, Justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire and for several terms United States Senator. In the capital of the Nation, under the most attractive social conditions she surrendered herself wholly to Jesus, and became a wandering light, shedding in a thousand hearts warmth and cheer. Four times she journeyed to Palestine, and her voice was heard in all parts of her own continent. It is Harriet Livermore to whom Whittier refers in *Snow Bound* as

"Another guest that winter night,
Flashed back from lustrous eyes the light.
Unmarked by time, and yet not young,
The honeyed music of her tongue
And words of meekness scarcely told
A nature passionate and bold,
Strong, self-centered, spurning guide,
Its milder features dwarfed beside
Her unbent will's majestic pride.
She sat among us at the best,
A not unfear'd, half-welcome guest,
Rebuking with her cultured phrase
Our homeliness of words and ways."

This woman was born an Episcopalian, and later became a Congregationalist. She found on her missionary tours great charm in the Quaker meetings and in the simple faith of the German Baptist Brethren. Of these she says, "I visited them and was pleased with their humble, modest appearance and behavior. In the course of the afternoon they sang several spiritual hymns. Before we parted several prayers were offered, and I ventured to join my feeble supplications in a vocal manner. This was the first time I had ever prayed in the presence of a man, except in sick chambers.

In 1722 she says, "There was a whisper in my mind concerning baptism. This whisper told me sprinkling was nothing--that infant sprinkling was not an evangelical rite." The outcome of this was her immersion on January 2, 1825. A large opening was made in the ice, prayer and song were offered at the water's side and then Harriet Livermore was buried with Christ in holy baptism.

When Harriet Livermore came to Philadelphia she was not welcomed by the more fashionable churches. Under the guise of hostility to women preachers she was refused admission to many pulpits. However Brother Peter Keyser, then pastor of the Brethren or Dunker church on Crown Street, near Callowhill, gladly gave her the privilege to speak. This is said to have been her first sermon in the city. In the congregation was Sarah Righter, afterwards Mrs. Major. Miss Livermore's sermon touched the heart of the

young woman. She was converted, joined the church, and became a famous preacher among the Brethren. She began to preach when only twenty years of age. She was a woman of rare power, and her sermons were marvels of chaste eloquence and prophetic insight. Among the many members who speak the name of Sister Major in reverent love is Brother Abraham H. Cassel, who at eighteen was brought to the church by this woman's persuasive eloquence and zeal for the cause she loved. Mrs. Major died at Greenfield, Ohio. She was the first convert of Miss Livermore's in Philadelphia. For that reason Harriet Livermore ever afterwards called her "my daughter."

Her last days were spent in the Almshouse in Philadelphia (Blockley), and at her death she was about to be consigned to a pauper's grave, when Sister Margaret F. Worrell appeared at the "Dead Room" and like one of old "begged the body" of the Pilgrim Stranger, took it to her own comfortable home in Germantown and gave it a decent burial in the Germantown Cemetery of the Brethren.

Here then sleeps the body of Harriet Livermore, "who abhorred evil more, loved a record." [*Harriet Livermore, the Pilgrim Stranger*, p. 210.] righteousness more, journeyed more amid perils, suffered more, preached and prayed more, wrote more, and wept more for Jesus than any other woman of whom we have a record." [For this list of members in 1770 I am indebted to that rare old book Morgan Edwards *Materials Towards a History of the American Baptists*, page 68. Philadelphia, 1770, a copy of which is in my possession.]

In 1770 there were about thirty families connected with the Germantown congregation. The names of fifty-seven persons then baptized and in the fellowship are as follows:

Alexander Mack with his wife and daughter, Christopher Sower with his wife and son, Margaret Boyer, deaconness, George Schriber and wife, Henry Slingluff and two daughters, Philip Weaver and wife, Peter Sybert and wife, John Slingluff and wife, Henry Slingluff, Anthony Snyder and wife, Richard Roob, Michael Keyser, Peter Keyser and wife, Jacob Rowman and wife, Justus Fox and wife, John Kime, Conrad Good, Conrad Stamm and wife, Hannah Stamm, I. Becker, Mary Baker, Sarah Baker, Susannah Baker, Eve Fith, Elizabeth Boyer, Mary Bossert, Margaret Herszback, Magadalen Mellinger, Elizabeth Roob, Christian de Lashet and wife, William Spyra and wife, Nathaniel Shryber, Katherine Shryber, Henry Sharpneck and wife, Mary Nyse, Rudolph Harly and wife, Mary Fend, Sybelia Ent.

CHAPTER VIII.

SOME LEADERS IN COLONIAL AMERICA.

The personality of good men is always worth recording. The men who made possible the Lord's work in Colonial America were all men of strong character, resolute, devout, and fearless. They wrought in a wilderness, with no support save the strong right arm of Him they served. They did a good work. Around their memory clusters only the fragrance of God's own. That we may know them as fully as we can I have thought it wise to select a few typical leaders and discuss their lives as fully as the meagre data at hand will allow.

1. PETER BECKER.

First in the long procession of good men, led of God and called his ministers in the church in America, stands pious Peter Becker, who joined the church in Creyfelt, Germany, in 1714. He came from Dillsheim, where he was born in 1687. When the unfortunate division occurred at Creyflet, Peter Becker stood for moderation and for Christian charity. Saddened at the unexpected action of Elder Libe, he gathered a few pious families around him and prepared to sail to America.

Just what led him to come here is not known. But it is undoubtedly true that the active efforts of the Frankfort Land Company, of which Francis Daniel Pastorius was agent, to bring good German families to Pennsylvania, was the immediate cause of his choice.

Creyfelt was a refuge for Mennonites. Penn had converted many of these to the Quaker faith on his famous missionary journeys to the Palatine and Holland in 1672 and in 1677. As early as 1683, Germantown was a German settlement. It was here, in 1688, that Pastorius, the Up de Graffs and Hendricks presented the first protest against slavery in America. The prospect of living with these men no doubt was a determining factor. They came to Germantown in 1718. This is the first body of German Baptist Brethren or dunkers in America.

They had a stormy passage. The horrors of the sea were emphasized by the memory of troubles at Creyfelt, and this was augmented by the wretched sufferings of the members, owing to the miserable accommodations afforded for the voyage. From Elder Naas' journal some conception of this suffering may be formed. Gottlieb Mittelberger, who crossed thirty-one years later, with the first organ for a Philadelphia church, the High German Lutheran, gives a graphic account of the horrors of the journey.

"This journey lasts from the beginning of May to the end of October, fully half a year, amid such hardships as no one is able adequately to describe with their misery.

"During the voyage there is on board these ships terrible misery, stench, fumes, horror, vomiting, many kinds of seasickness, fever, dysentery, headache, heat, constipation, boils, scurvy, cancer, mouth-rot and the like, all of which come from old and sharply salted food and meat, also from very bad and foul water, so that many die miserably.

"Add to this,--want of provisions, hunger, thirst, frost, heat, dampness, anxiety, want, afflictions and lamentations, together with other trouble, as c. v., the lice abound so frightfully, especially on sick people, that they can be scraped off the body. The misery reaches the climax when a gale rages for two or three nights and days so that every one believes that the ship will go to the bottom with all human beings on board. In such a visitation the people cry and pray most piteously.

"When in such a gale the sea rages and surges, so that the waves rise often like high mountains one above the other, and often tumble over the ship, so that one fears to go down with the ship; when the ship is constantly tossed from side to side by the storm and waves, so that no one can either walk, or sit, or lie

down, and the closely packed people in the berths are thereby tumbled over each other, both the sick and the well--it will be readily understood that many of these people, none of whom had been prepared for hardships, suffer so terribly from them that they do not survive it.

"Among the healthy, impatience sometimes grows so great and cruel that one curses the other, or himself and the day of his birth, and sometimes they come near killing each other. Misery and malice join each other, so that they cheat and rob one another. One always reproaches the other with having persuaded him to undertake the journey. Frequently children cry out against their parents, husbands against their wives and wives against their husbands; brothers and sisters, friends and acquaintances against each other. But most against the soul-traffickers. [The land agents and ship agents, who held out to these Germans all sorts of enticements in order to gain a commission on their passage money and the land they purchased.]

"Many sigh and cry: 'Oh, that I were at home again, and if I had to lie in my pig-sty!' Or they say: 'O God, if I only had a piece of good bread, or a good fresh drop of water!' Many people whimper, sigh, and cry piteously for their homes; most of them get homesick. Many hundred people necessarily die and perish in such misery, and must be cast into the sea, which drives their relatives or those that persuaded them to undertake the journey, to such despair that it is almost impossible to pacify or console them. In a word, the sighing and crying and lamenting on board the ship continues day and night, so as to cause the hearts even of the most hardened to bleed when they hear it."

And this, Brethren, is the price Peter Becker and his followers paid to bring the religion of Jesus to the American wilderness!

May we never forget these people, nor prove faithless to the heritage they bequeathed at such sacrifice to us! No wonder Christopher Sower appealed to Governor Denny for relief from these incredible but real horrors. [See life of Christopher Sower, in which these letters to the Governor are given in full.]

To Peter Becker God gave the care of his cause in America, and from the organization of the congregation at Germantown to 1758, when he piously fell asleep, he was a true and faithful shepherd of God's sheep. Of his relations to the Germantown congregation I have already written. He was a weaver by trade, and owned twenty-three acres of ground in Germantown. This land he cultivated in cereals and in flax. In 1720 he had for an apprentice the afterwards famous Conrad Beissel. Beissel lived in Becker's house for one year; then left for the Conestoga country, and then eventually Peter Becker baptized him and made of him the head of the Conestoga church.

Peter Becker was married to Anna Dorothy Partman, and their children have many descendants among the churches in eastern Pennsylvania. In 1747 he removed to the Skippack and spent his last days in the home of this daughter Mary, then the wife of Rudolph Harly. His other daughter, Elizabeth, was married to Jacob Stump. Here he was happy. This congregation on Indian Creek was the home place of worship of the Prices and others who were dear to him. On the very spot where he frequently preached now stands a new house--the home of Abraham H. Cassel, the antiquarian, and one of his descendants.

Here he died on March 19, 1758, rich in years and richer in good works. He was buried in the old graveyard near by, and a simple sandstone with the inscription, "Anno 1758, P. B.," marked his grave.

This gravestone was so small that it finally sunk beneath the sod and the grave was unmarked and almost forgotten. To Abraham H. Cassel, his old aunt pointed out the grave, explaining that she was perhaps the only person living who knew its location. Soon after that she died. Brother Cassel was the sole custodian of the sleeping place of our first American preacher. Years rolled by and typhoid fever seized upon the aged Christian. In his sickness he remembered that he alone knew of the exact spot where Peter Becker was buried. On his sick-bed he made a solemn vow to God that if his life were spared he would, at his own expense, erect a fitting memorial over the grave. God was good to him and in due time he was well. Then the order was given and a beautiful Carrara marble stone was prepared and fittingly engraved. When the workmen under Brother Cassel's direction dug the soil away to set the stone, their picks struck an obstacle--a rough old sandstone. It was removed to enable the new stone to be securely set, when, wonderful to relate, the old gravestone was brought from beneath the sod! The inscription was plainly cut,

and by the side of the new now stands the old stone which for a hundred years had been lost. Surely the hand of God was in this! Now we know of a surety the final resting place, and over it is this loving memorial.

The bitterest cup that Elder Becker had to drink was the result of the Beissel movement at Ephrata. To Peter Becker, Conrad Beissel owed much. In Becker's house he was sheltered and fed and given a trade in 1720-21. From Peter Becker he had received holy baptism in 1724, and from Peter Becker he had received authority to act as preacher, baptizer, and administrator of the holy Communion. Then came, in 1728, the sad separation. From that time to his death the pious old man in his patient grief labored and wept in memory of the fateful events in the Conestoga country. More than this, however, was endured. In December, 1728, Michael Wohlfahrt came uninvited into the public meeting of the Brethren at Germantown, evidently sent by Beissel, and openly assailed Elder Becker, "Men and Brethren, thus with the Lord, ye have gone mad; this is a city that is destroyed! And unto you, Peter Becker, the Lord saith, why dost thou declare my rights and hast my covenant on thy lips, while yet thou hatest order and throwest my words behind thee!" To all this he gave no angry reply. Then began a most shameless series of proselyting influences; and, since all the ordinances of the Brethren were honored at Ephrata, it was easy to win all discontented members away from the Germantown congregation. In 1738, as we have seen, there was a large exodus, and constantly this propaganda was continued. That it wrung the heart of Elder Becker cannot be doubted. Every congregation in Pennsylvania, especially the German town, Falekner's Swamp, and Antietam churches, felt the force of this movement. Even the Amwell church was saddened and sundered by the machinations of the followers of Beissel.

Was Elder Becker right in standing steadfastly for the practices of the church and upholding pure and undefiled the faith he had received? To us, of course, there is at once assent. He was right. But who could best confirm the righteous stand of this pious saint of God? The best witness would be Beissel himself. But he survived Peter Becker only ten years. With his death ended the hope of Elder Becker's complete vindication; unless, (strange unless!) unless some record from him is left to tell the right. Such a record is now in my possession. After many years of patient search, in an out-of-the-way corner of the country, in a miraculous manner, I was able recently to purchase a priceless treasure. It is the original manuscript Letter Book of Conrad Beissel, 347 folio pages of unpublished history of the Ephrata leader. When it is published the world will know what is now unknown and what is now falsely accepted with reference to this strange mystic spirit of the colonial wilds of Pennsylvania.

The *Chronicon Ephratense*, written by Peter Miller, scribe and successor of Beissel at Ephrata, printed in 1786, says (page 28) that Conrad Beissel "visited Peter Becker yet on his death-bed and among the rest said to him: _What a pity it is that there were no wise men among you when the awakening in Conestoga commenced; how we could now live under your shelter! Whereupon the latter wept." This is one part of the story, and one only. The *Chronicon* does not say that soon thereafter Elder Becker had in his hands his own complete vindication in the writing of Beissel himself. This letter is in the Letter Book, pp. 137-146, and since it has never been published, I will give it at length, in literal translation from the German:

EPHRATA, the 20th of the 3rd month, 1756. To Peter Becker.

Patient in sorrows, innocent in loving, consumed by misery, makes over souls weary before God. May the heavens rain righteousness, and may the dew of God spread over all the inherited land. So that all hardness maybe softened, all bitterness be sweetened, in order that God's grain-fields may be prepared for the last and by-God-so-long-promised evening shower over the whole church of God for a glorious sprouting and growing in the new life of grace; that the people of God may soon reach its completion. For the whole creation yet stands in groans and sighs, and waits for its completion, so that it may be set free from the servitude of vanity and of the perishable beings.

And as to my groanings and longings, which I have had since a very long time, and for all these years--my pen will not be able to tell since it is known only to God.

Oh, how strangely the spark of Eternity or the new life of Grace hidden in God here in this tabernacle of the body--or in the life of mortality--must be brought through it all till it can come to growth and verdure. Oh, how many winds of tribulation have to blow over this poor plant, while it is rooted first in many heart-

rending griefs. Oh, my dear, had I but been able to embrace thee more in this precious life of Grace, what a God-pleasing joy it would have given me. Only the sorrowful regret must be my comfort to this hour.

Thou canst hardly believe what deep emotions my heart and soul underwent, when we left your house after our visit, and although to this hour no one has told, nor was allowed to tell, my pen now brings it to the light that I must reveal my heart unto thee; for it fell upon my soul that the harvest was not reaped yet of that matter. When I lived with you 35 years ago, and that neither you nor I had understood what it signified, for something good was in the affair. This remained, and I still am your debtor, for you have not received your due for all you have done for me. Oh, how great is ignorance! The Lord from heaven must be your reward and paymaster, for I can no more make it up. It might have been accomplished in times past, when a kiss of peace was given in the water of baptism, if one had not been so Ignorant But eternal praise be to the good God, who forgiveth sins and trespasses, and who, has pleasure in mercifulness and not in judgment.

Meanwhile I remain your debtor and well-wisher. Perhaps the balm of life will heal this ailment, if one is only clothed in faith and love, with God's patience.

As to the rest of our experiences on our journey, I have to tell you this yet. A beautiful harvest is reaped at Amwell of faithful believing souls; still the best part is yet to come, if some spirits among them were to be anointed with the holy oil of the chief high-priestly spirit, poured out and over and flowing down over their entire body to the hem of their robes. Then it might well give a planting which would reap into sheaves for the new world; for which I wish much divine prosperity. I can only say that we have enjoyed there a great deal of blessing, and in nearly every house where we were; which has moved me to a fervently loving compassion, as I see the faithfully disposed minds, although I saw not yet the right door opened with the Philadelphian church key, when a church will be built after the manner of the New Jerusalem where the gates shall stand open all around, night and day, to all the four parts of the world, to every nation and kindred, and tongue, and people, and yet nothing unclean shall enter. For at the very last call to the Last Supper of the Great God all those lying by the fence must be bidden and called in, so that the house of the Lord be filled.

I spend my days in great pains and sorrows for the sake of the sins of the children of my people. But what can be done? It is written: The patience of God take for your salvation. The Lord will at last know how to gather in his own people and to deliver them from their misery. For the divine and heavenly birth stands at the present time in anxious groaning because the heavenly "Magia" is rather closed up and the earthly, on the other hand, stands wide open. Therefore, the entire earth is alarmed, pious and impious, which causes the holy ones to hold up their heads cheerfully, for this is a sign that the day of their salvation is nearing.

As to my condition and doings since we returned from our journey I have yet to report that the same has made me very quiet, and I have since left the house but little; also inwardly I was held in so closely that I would hardly have been able to fulfill my promise if the old brother Konig had not come to me and said how he was now going to set out upon this journey. Then I felt at once drawn to write this letter; but whether I shall be able to express myself fully, I do not know; for I am not able to rid myself of that which oppresses my heart.

But to return to ourselves, I have to report once for all, in all these things, where I feel to be thy debtor, I am conscious in my spirit of such a power of blessing as surpasses all understanding. If it is to be now, that my spirit can touch thee in thine, then methinks it is as it should be. Since I know nothing better to counsel, so I will pledge the love given from God in heaven, since I own nothing in worldly goods for the present time, and I hone the communicating love of God will "legitimate" itself so that all affliction can be done away with History of the for time and for eternity. Grant me, my dear, that I take my pleasure in thee, and that will be if thou wilt'st Let me love thee in spirit as much as the divine love desireth. We shall anyhow on account of old age be obliged to limit ourselves to "caresses" only. But if one could attain to kissing and embracing and from thence into the chaste marriage-bed in spirit, where one communes with all pure spirits of the righteous made perfect, who are before the throne in united harmony--whither I long to go also and fervently wait for the glory of God to reveal itself in the midst among his saints to all heavens,--then one will drink of the best wine of the vineyard which has no dregs in it. Am I understood by thee? As I do not doubt that I am, then it is all right and I remain as one lying at the feet of all those who pass by,

until God will see to it and will raise the afflicted from the dust and will reduce those who sat high in the pride of their hearts. Blessed be thou, from God and His bountiful spirit, with the fullness of his grace, so that thou mayest be strengthened and fortified inwardly for the blessing of thy weary and faint spirit, and that thy withering bones may become powerful in verdure and growth for the everlasting order of priesthood; so that thou mayest be brought to the lot in which the entire human race is reconciled, and which is to be and is to remain the lot of all saints. Be this thy inheritance forever and ever, Amen.

Here thou hast after all quite a letter. May the Lord bless His work with eternal blessing, that thy home-coming from this time to eternity may be blessed in the eternal world, wherein I hope to be included forever and ever, Amen.

I shall remain thy faithfully disposed, Friedensam otherwise called Conrad Beissel, one who calls nothing his own in this earth.

P. S.--Anna Dorothy as well as daughter and son-in-law be heartily greeted, kissed, and loved from me.

Since there is absolutely no more prospect that we shall ever see each other again I want to say just this much more: my spirit holds thee and thy beloved N. N. together with and in the whole church of God, and in the general revival in Germany whose spirit's children we are.

N. B.--But this must be marked, the church of God has its twelve tribes in the new covenant as well as in the old, and the tribes in Germany could not well come to be born from the barren Rachel on account of the wrath of the dragon and the carnal Antichrist; therefore only the number of maidservants was increased, and when it came far, Leah brought forth Judah, whence comes government according to the flesh. And so Rachel remained barren, and although in the tribe of Judah many a fine branch sprouted under the rule of the pings, yet they were only few tribes in whom the fertility of the new world remained closed tip; since it was reserved for the barren one to bear the seed. Meanwhile the Lord remembered Rachel and caused the church to emigrate towards the setting of the sun (i. e., came to America). I must make it short, for I could write a book about this matter.

It has then come to pass that Rachel bare a sots in these lands by the name of Joseph, or God wild increase (as the name signifies). This son was indeed different from the other sons of Jacob, though all were Jacob's - sons, just as it can be said of the twelve apostles or disciples of Jesus, but one only lay on his breast, and yet they- all were apostles. Here this letter is cut short by the removal of a leaf of the book. What was on that page is not known. But this letter is enough to show Beissel's feeling and relation to Peter Becker. There is no upbraiding, no censure, no charge, but a plea for forgiveness and an humble acknowledgment of the many kindnesses shown him. This was Elder Beck vindication. In its reception, no doubt, he was moved in his dying days to great thankfulness to God. Let this letter put to rest forever the carping cry of the half enlightened chronicler who delights to reflect upon Elder Becker as a man of so narrow a spirit that he could not successfully direct the early church. He was perhaps the most gifted singer and the most eloquent man in prayer in the colonial church. He was not an effective speaker, but he was of sound judgment, great moderation, and sufficient tact to manage successfully the weighty burdens laid upon him. He was also a writer of hymns, one of which from his pen will close this sketch. It was published in "Die Kleine Harfe an appendix to Das Kleine Davidische Psalterspiel," a hymn book that ran through eight editions before the end of the eighteenth century. The title here given is from the second edition by Samuel Sower. The first edition by him was issued in 1791 at Chestnut Hill, Pennsylvania.

THE LITTLE HARP

Tuned According to Different Beautiful

HYMNS AND SONGS Or PRAISE

Which are Heard by the Ends of the Earth to the Glory of the Righteous.

This little Harp sounds indeed sweetly, but yet in a low tone,

Until the great Hosts of Harp Players shall take up the Song.

To God and the Lamb be the Honor and Praise in Time and Eternity! Amen!

SECOND EDITION.

BALTIMORE: Published by Samuel Sauer, 1797.

The sixth string sounds low, but joyfully, of Patience

1. Thou poor Pilgrim, who art wandering here in this valley of grief, and art longing ever and ever for that mansion of joy, as many an enemy besets thee, so that thou weepest much here,--patience.

2. Just keep on trusting strongly in faith and be undaunted, and cling closely to the Word of Life; if thou art harassed, this will lead thee safely through the world. When things are not pleasant to the flesh,--patience.

3. And if thou, at present, dost suffer scoffing on the narrow way, just keep straight on the right path, but shun the broad way. Even if men look at thee askance and oftentimes thou must be grieved,--patience.

4. Believe me truly the time is coming that all this shall pass away; yea, all contentions and all strife shall finally come out of the mind of him Who is contending in faith here, and he shall conquer all his enemies,--patience.

5. Indeed, it seems very wonderful in the contentions; on the stage of this life one sees, oftentimes, no danger yet it is close to him on his road; this demands constant watchfulness with prayer and efforts in the strife,--patience.

6. Art thou striving against the flesh, and believest that thou hast conquered, and before thou art aware, it breaks out again and wages against thee 'anew' therefore watch thou suppliantly and prayerfully and yield not thy stand,--patience.

7. Art thou weak in thy faith and oftentimes Sorrowful? be thou not dismayed by this; thy God will help thee; when all help seems lost thy God faithfully wishes thee well,--patience.

8. Thy God leads thee indeed wonderfully in this desert, that He may lay bare what is in thy heart, that thou mayest learn to understand aright how one must look only to God,--patience.

9. And if it still seems so hard before thy mind, look up to thy Savior, this will bring thee victory. He also trod the way of sorrow, and willingly hung on the cross,--patience. to. Patience was Christ's love. His whole life; this he showed in all truth, and, too, against opposition. He was patient as a lamb and was crucified on the cross,--patience.

11. Into this mirror look, and behold thy image; think how little thou still art; forget not so soon that thou art to be like thy Savior; therefore, suffer all pain,--patience.

12. In this image thou failest, thou my poor soul, for this reason thou art still longing here, in this torment of the body; thou beholdest thyself oftentimes and findest thyself on the way of sorrow,--patience.

13. And when thou seemest entirely forsaken, and dost look into thy dark heart, yea, oftentimes thou dost weep over it in great grief and pain, thou canst not be thine own helper, just resign thyself willingly to it,--patience.

14. Ah, dear soul, take courage, this will all come to an end, thy burden of the cross will be for thy good; thou wilt soon come to thy rest; the sorrow of this short time is indeed worthy of that glory,--patience. [P. BECKER.]

2. THE SECOND ALEXANDER MACK.

Alexander Mack, founder of the church of the Brethren, had three sons, Alexander, Valentine and John.

Of these Alexander was born at Schwarzenau, January 25th, 1712, and was baptized in Holland in 1728. The next year he came to Pennsylvania, with his parents on the ship *Allen*, James Craigie, Master. He was an active young member of the church and frequently exhorted in the meeting of the unmarried on Sunday afternoon. In 1736 he was much cast down in spirit. His father was dead and the young man believed he too would soon die. He made his will, bequeathing his little property to a few chosen friends. At this juncture of his melancholy state he was taken into confidence by Stephen Koch, who filled his young mind with great spiritual unrest.

Young Mack was a ready speaker and in his Sunday addresses he began to echo the views of Koch. Finally in 1737 they established a religious house or monastery on the Wissahickon. To this Stephen Koch and Alexander Mack removed October 14th, of the same year. This house was in a valley, about a mile from Germantown, but it is not the famous "Monastery on the Wissahickon." The house these Brethren erected was a small one. In it lived the above named brethren together with Brother John Riesmann and a pious married couple. Perhaps also Henry Hoecker was of the number.

The "Monastery on the Wissahickon" is a large three-story stone building. These men had no money and no time to erect so large a building as the Monastery.

It is more likely that the so-called monastery is only the three-story stone dwelling house erected by Joseph Gorgas after 1752. Joseph purchased the ground from his brother John Gorgas who purchased it in March, 1747. Joseph was a member of the Seventh-Day Baptists, and here he gathered congenial spirits and "held sweet communion." It is wrong historically, therefore, to connect the Brethren with the Monastery. They were poor men, living from house to house, as convenience and economy suggested or demanded. Alexander Mack lived with Henry Hoecker in half a house, the other half being occupied by his brother, Valentine, and his family. To the meagre house of Mack and Hoecker came Koch April 12, 1736, and the next year, on October 14, they lived in the new house on the Wissahickon. Indeed, it is not proven that it was on the Wissahickon. It was "in a valley, a mile from Germantown." This is probably definite enough to locate it.

Sachse says, "A branch of this new society (i. e. The Ephrata Society) for a time flourished in Germantown and vicinity. For the purposes of the new community a massive stone building was erected in 1738 on the Wissahickon." He gives a cut of the building and says, "Built by the Zionitic Brotherhood, A. D. 1737 . . . --*Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 84."

Now the only people who built a house in the year 1737 near Germantown and moved into it, on October 14, of said year, as recorded by the *Chronicon*, are the above mentioned poor young men. They were not a branch of the new or Ephrata Society, and they did not dedicate the house. It had two occupants, and only two, Koch and Mack, on October 14. In fact these men went out here to commune alone with God and not to build a Monastery. The shelter they had was so meagre that they voluntarily left it. On March 27, 1738, Mack, Hoecker and Riesmann moved to the solitary at Ephrata, and the married man went back to his own land. This left Koch alone. He was then joined by another pious housefather, Lewis Hoecker by name. But, says Koch, "We did not live together any longer than until March 27, 1839, when I also removed to the solitary at Ephrata So all these builders walked away from the poor but in the valley and gave it no more thought, nor would we were it not that it has been dragged into prominence as a Dunker Monastery, and the church falsified thereby. I have in my scrap book a clipping from a recent Philadelphia paper, "Legends of the Wissahickon from which I quote to show how a fertile imagination, based upon some false historic record like the one just cited, will weave a tissue of falsehood around a grain of truth:

"Perhaps the only relic of Colonial days in Philadelphia which has been invested by tradition and popular superstition _with much of the romance which clusters about medieval time is the old _Monastery of the Wissahickon,' which, grim, grey, and with a melancholy aspect, looks down from a bluff about a mile above the red bride, upon all the rugged beauty of the upper Wissahickon.

"When the broad-minded, religious views of Wil Penn and his peaceful Quaker colony became known in Europe there were many sects spurned by contumely, who sought refuge here. Among them was a queer colony of religious communicants known as Dunkers. Like Catholic priests, they were sworn to celibacy, but were persecuted by Catholics and Protestants alike.

"First they settled in Germantown, but even here they did not find the freedom they had expected, and they looked about for a more isolated spot, where their curious customs could not be criticised by the unsympathetic masses. Eventually they selected the upper Wissahickon as their home. Perhaps there _was something in the sternness and severity of nature here in harmony with the pensive sadness of the old fathers, for they seemed to like the place, and were loth to leave it. The creels flung a genial freshness upward about the grim old house and voluptuous valleys, untainted by city towers and smoke, breathed as soft and sweet repose even as they do now, for the Park Commissioners have tried hard to preserve all the pastoral beauties of this region. But when the bunkers settled here the region was truly a wilderness. Germantown, the nearest settlement, was miles away.

"But the queer old fathers were not entirely alone even here. For many years before there came a strange old fellow, John Kelpius, who had established a hermitage in a cave across the creek. He gathered followers, and became known as the "Hermit of the Ridge." And when the bunkers came and established the monastery, the hermit and his followers were wont to participate in their religious exercises, and it was a strange sight to see the quiet old monks and the hermits clad in long, flowing gowns of severe black march into Germantown, single file, with their heads bowed, murmuring their prayers.

"The people of those days were very superstitious, and they looked with awe upon the queer colony of the upper Wissahickon. Dark tales were told of them. Town gossip said that there were underground passageways leading far into the hills, and that away down under the rocks, forming the monastery foundations, were implements used to torture innocent people who came that way to hunt or fish. However, none of these legends was ever found to be true, nor is it on record that the old monks were ever accused of witchcraft. They lived here serenely and quietly, and though the region was infested with Indians and backwoodsmen, they were left unharmed.

"Shortly after the Revolutionary War the district near the monastery became more populated, and the monks, who seem to have had a longing for a solitary, lonely life, moved away and joined the Dunkard colony at Ephrata, Pa., which was then a comparative wilderness."

If these homeless men of 1737 had a dream that their humble act would be paraded in such fantastic tales surely they would have deposited somewhere the necessary disclaimers to needless notoriety. The simple record would read "A few young religious enthusiasts erected a two-roomed but in 1737. They have gone; so has the hut."

That Alexander Mack removed to Ephrata, March 21, 1738, is true. Here his life was a series of religious excesses. In the Ephrata Society he was known as Brother Timotheus. The Ephrata Society was at this time in a turmoil over the Eckerlin Beissel controversy. Israel Eckerlin was Prior. He endeavored to supplant Beissel as Superintendent of the Society. In this controversy Alexander Mack was on the side of Eckerlin and was one of his trusted and intimate friends.

In 1744 Israel Eckerlin decided to go upon a journey for a time in order to allay the growing bitterness in the community. For his journey he had as companions his oldest brother, Samuel Eckerlin, Alexander Mack and Peter Miller. These four set out from Ephrata on September 22, 1744, and after visiting the church of the German Baptist brethren at Amwell, New Jersey, they moved eastward to Barnegat, by the sea. Here they met some English Baptists, notably the Colvert family, followers of John Rogers. From Colvert's they journeyed through Crosswick, visiting John Lovely and at Brunswick took vessel for Rhode

Island. They landed at Block Point, seven miles from New London. Here a family, Boles by name, members of the Rogerian Baptists, received them very affectionately. They were suspected of being Jesuits of New Spain, on account of the war then in process between Spain and England. Finally they entered New London, where they attracted much attention. They lodged with Ebenezer Boles, a merchant. They preached to large audiences, and when the time of their departure came their new-made friends gave them free passage to New York and more money than they had on leaving Ephrata. At New York they again were suspected as Jesuits. But a Justice of the Peace, who knew of them, bailed them and allowed them to return in peace.

Peace, however, did not prevail, and September 4, 1745, Israel Eckerlin, Samuel Eckerlin and Alexander Mack left Elphrata, "and moved towards the wilderness. They fled about 40 English miles, towards the setting of the sun.

That Mack went on this western journey is extremely improbable. If he did do so he must have soon returned for in 1748 he is back again in Germantown in full fellowship with his brethren.

Christopher Sower records in his diary, "On June 7, 1748, there were placed upon me and Brother Sander Mack the oversight (*Aufsicht*) of the Brotherhood (*Gemeinschaft*) on trial."

Prior to this Alexander Mach must have returned and made fitting apology for his absence, and lived long enough among the members to win their confidence and love. Otherwise they would not have given him the joint oversight of the congregation. This closes his career as a wanderer and marks the beginning of fifty-five years of continuous service in the ministry of the Church of the Brethren.

Scarcely had he entered upon his ministry when his brother Valentine Mach, an Ephrataite, addressed him an urgent appeal to return to Ephrata. This letter of Valentine's was written on June 27th, just twenty days after Alexander was called to the ministry. From the reply one can infer that Israel Eckerlin had reported that Brother Mack was anxious to return to Ephrata. That he was not anxious to return the reply also clearly shows. The letter in full follows:

In Christ Jesus our only High Priest and Redeemer:

Beloved Brother Valentine.-May the new Eternal Covenant of Grace and of Peace, which God has established with us in the Blood of the Lamb by the Water-baptism in the Word of Salvation, live and be verdant in thy soul and mine for Life Eternal, and make me and thee healthy in the Faith and in the Love of Jesus and of his members, Amen. Amen.

I have duly received thy writing, dated June 27th, and have kindly and lovingly accepted the expression of thy love which manifests itself in the same writing. But until now I have not been able to give thee an answer--for where a poor man sits with a rich man in a game, the rich man can and will take care that the poor one does not win anything from him, and although I might begin today to suffer by the loss which I have suffered, it would indeed be none too early. I have now for almost twenty years been tried in various manners and ways in the paths of the 'heavenly calling and have given many proofs of my childish ignorance. It will for once be high time that I should learn the tenth commandment a little better, so that also in a spiritual sense I should not be covetous of my neighbor's goods; and, although nothing belongs to me and the utmost poverty is my share, I ought to like this much better than to shine in the raiment's of others.

However, I heartily wish that this simple letter should please thee as a cheerful answer; for, although I possess nothing and can do nothing, yet the spark of love urges me now to give answer to thee in simplicity of heart.

For the first--Brother Eckerlin has not understood me rightly, for I have no mind to move again to the new station; unless it should be clearly ordained thus by Divine Providence, and I be more strongly convinced of it than I have ever yet been convinced of any change.

For the second--That Brother Heinrich Muller has such a poor view of the life of the Brethren in the new station is not a great wonder to me and does not give me any different ideas of it than I entertained before, for just as much as he has praised it above the measure, just so much must he now despise it above the measure; and when, after this, he hits the right measure he has cause to ascribe such to the infinite mercy of God and not to his own mind. For it is easy for mankind to err, now by praising, now by fault-finding; but when we begin to learn to know our own hearts, we cheerfully leave all things just as they are, as we know we can make them neither better nor worse.

And for the third--That thou wilt receive me into thy house for love's sake, would be very acceptable; for any one who needs a lodging in Germantown must pay money, yet God takes care also of those who have nothing. I have, thank God, so far been able to eat my own bread, yet, under the blessing of God.

What you at last write--That I had nothing to fear for myself from the brethren in Ephrata, since they enter every day more into the divine simplicity and childlikeness, that is pleasant to me to hear. As you say, I shall not need to be afraid of them in Germantown either, for here I am farther away from them than if I were living with you. But perfect love drives out fear, and he who has fear still, is not complete in love. But that the pent up stream of grace and love of God, as you report, soon, soon may cover the entire earth like the waters of the sea, that expects and desires with thee, with all his heart,

Thy humble fellow-pilgrim,

SANDER MACK. Germantown, the 29th of August, 1748

Having served as elder on trial for five years, he was ordained with the laying on of hands on June 10, 1753. With him on the same day Christopher Sower was ordained as elder and Henry Schlingluff as deacon. From this fact, together with the beforecited instance of the election of George Schreiber as deacon on trial, the election of church officers on trial is clearly shown to have been the practice in Germantown for many years. It must be left to the church of to-day to explain what it has gained or lost by the abandonment of this rule of practice.

Between Elders Mack and Sower there were always the most cordial relations of Christian good-will and helpfulness. The eloquent memorial to this is found in the fact that Elder Sower records in his own private diary the religious work of Elder Mack with the same care and detail as he records his own. From this source the following facts are gleaned:

Persons Baptized by Elder Mack.

1749, March 26, Elizabeth Ganz.

1750, May 3, Catharine Sharpnack, who became, April 21, 1751, the wife of Elder Sower.

1753 April 15 Sophia Schlingluff.

1755 June 22, Anna Schreiber

1757 Justus Fox.

1758, July 22, William Dischang and Jacob Her-Man.

1769, July 29, Susanna Becker and Christopher Sower, son of Elder Sower, and the third Christopher, who in 1758 be

came King's Printer and Deputy Post-Master General for Nova Scotia.

1769, Sept. 3, Michael Keyser, Sarah Mack, Susanna Becker

1769, October 5, Peter Keyser and his wife Hannah, Johannis Schlingluff, Conrad Stamm, Henry Sharpnack and his wife Sarah, Elizabeth Roble [Reubly], Sister -Send.

1770, Sept. 3, D. Keiser and wife Hasel, Johannis Weber, William Leibert.

1770, Sept. 30 Julius Reubly and his wife Apollonia.

1784, Sept. 19 Jacob Zeigler, Manuel Fox and his wife.

1784, Oct. 24, Catherine Sower

1785, Sept. 25, Nicholas Oliver, Benjamin Lehman, Peter Keyser, Jr.

A Famous Letter Writer.

Perhaps no man in the early church had as wide a circle of correspondents as Alexander Mack. In my own collection of his MS. remains, secured from Abraham H. Cassel, are at least thirteen letters written by him and an equal number written to him by such well known members as Catharine Hummer, Martin Urner (three), Jacob Mack, Jacob Stoll, Ludwig Hoecker, Jacob Dormer, Michael Pfautz, Daniel Letterman (two), Charles Horlacher, and Rudolph Harley. In all of these there breathes the spirit of Christian love and confidence, stamping Elder Mack as a counsellor and a leader among them.

Among the number are six to Elder John Price of Indian Creek, a son of Daniel and a grandson of John Price son of John Jacob the great ancestor of the Prices in America. Elder John Price was the father of the celebrated preacher and elder William W. Price. To him Alexander Mack pours out his heart in full sympathy. The love between them was like that between David and Jonathan. Of these letters to Elder Price the following is selected because it was written in the opening days of the Revolutionary War,-a time that tried the souls of non-resisting Christians.

March 11, 1775

In Jesus the Lover of Our True Life,

Heart's-much-beloved Brother:--I have duly received thy dear little letter, but I cannot know yet if I shall be able to come to the next Great Meeting. I have been speaking to Brother Christopher Sower to enquire if he meant to go. He then had no mind to go, but if I should succeed to persuade him I would gladly stay home myself this time, according to the body, but according to the spirit I would be there in heartfelt love and "well-wishing." But if it should happen nevertheless, that he insisted on his refusal to go along, and if it should be convenient for me to go, I would first like to have his own and the Brethren's consent before starting on the journey; therefore I cannot yet say with certainty whether I shall come or not.

What concerns Brother Cornelius Nice, I have to slate that he has had his name registered for drilling and that he seeks to withdraw as much as possible from the Communion and does not like to hear himself called Brother. To Brother Christoph Sauer he has refused the kiss when he spoke to him, and when I heard of it and also spoke to him, I did not offer him the kiss so as to indicate that he were as good as expelled already; yet I wanted to show him some patience in case he should perhaps feel repentance. I have asked him if he would resent it when I should pray for him, but he said no, he would like me to do it. Then I advised him to try for himself if he still could pray.

My impression of this period is, that it indicates the beginning of the time of trouble of which Christ speaks: That we must indeed not be frightened, but yet must be on our guard before men. Yet I am not sure the best guarding consists in our trying to walk with a good conscience, both before God and man, and that we show our gentleness to everybody, for the Lord is near. He was, as the Scripture says, not in the wind,

nor in the earthquake, nor in the fire, yet he was near, and in still, soft, gentle rustling; when this was heard Elias covered his face with his mantle and went out to meet the Lord. And since we are not able to know the hour of our departure from this sphere, so may the merciful good God give us to watch and pray that we may become worthy to escape from all that is to come, and to stand before the Son of Man. It is indeed near at hand, the great blessedness of the last time; but I do not expect it fully in this life which is subject to so many deaths, but I hope for a better life which is eternal. The beginnings of the trouble and the travail are in this life, and the hour of temptation ends and fulfills itself in the break of this life, but then in the other life we shall see what sort of a child has been born to us. Therefore Christ says we shall not fear those who may kill the body but can do no more than that.

What concerns me and mine, we are all pretty well. With a hearty greeting and loving kiss I commend thee to God and the word of his mercy, who is powerful to edify us and to give us the inheritance with all those who are sanctified in Christ Jesus, Amen.

Friendly greetings to thy dear parents and brothers, and also to the beloved members whom thou mayest meet on thy journey in case they should ask for me, it might be that to-morrow I should write a little more to my Brother Johannes, yet I cannot tell if I shall be able. My dear wife and children send friendly greetings.

I remain your humble yet faithful fellow-brother,

SANDER MACK.

Creyfelt the 11th March 1775.

To the beloved Brother Johannes Preisz,

To open with his own hands.

The tender solicitude of this old saint of Gad is nowhere more plainly and touchingly set forth than in two letters written in 1772 to John Price concerning the baptism of the latter. When the good news reached Elder Mack he wrote:

The name of the Lord is an outpoured unguent, In the same lovely and gracious name of Jesus I wish peace, and hail my dear Brother Johannes Preisz.

I have received thy writing and read it rejoicing that the Lord is so friendly and has so lovingly invited thee to his heavenly Feast. Alas, my dear one in the Lord, do not think a trifle the chastisement of the Lord, especially since he regards thee so lovingly and leads thee to see the misery of thy sins, and at the same time comforts thy heart by good purposes to penetrate to a better life through the grace of God. I can well say that I have no greater joy than to see and hear that men are invited in their youth. O what a glorious thing it is when one then really comes and by the grace of God becomes faithful, then the joy is still greater. I have read the lines of thy hand with tears of joy and wish with all my heart that when the Lord will have completely restored thee and made thee well again, that thy purpose will be again framed with a healthy heart and may be renewed. Much more I pray and wish that the Lord may accomplish in thee the work that He has begun to thy own and thy dear parents' joy and to the joy and comfort of all who love the works of the Lord. I do not intend to write much until some other time, after thou hast written me again a few lines, or perhaps I may come to see thee soon if the Lord allows it and we live, then we can talk together by word of mouth.

Meanwhile I wish heartily the blessing of God and a rich abundance of his divine power to strengthen thy purpose in thee; besides a hearty greeting for thee, please to greet thy dear parents as well.

I am thy humble Brother and fellow-pilgrim,

SANDER MACK.

Creyfelt of November 1772.

My dear wife sends her greetings and also my two children. This was written in haste with a ruined pen; thou wilt have difficulty in reading it.

Sickness and doubt delayed the baptism of John Price. But delay did not cause Elder Mack to forget. True to his holy calling and to his noble Christian solicitude, he answers Price's letter with one so full of the spirit of courteous admonition and tactful allaying of perplexing problems in the mind of the young candidate that it is given at length. May it serve to the elders of the church as a model of Christian correspondence. Note how lovingly and yet how clearly he touches on the question of complete forgiveness before baptism; how he expresses surprise, almost pain at the postponement of the sacred ordinance; and, finally, with what good sense he greets and kisses the candidate, making him feel a foretaste of the welcome that awaits him in God's family.

CREYFELT, the 29th December, 1772.

In Jesus the Crucified, Much-beloved Brother:

In this same our Immanuel I wish with all my heart all comfort of love, according to the pleasure and the goodness of our God in the acknowledgment of our Savior who has died for our sins and has risen again for our righteousness.

I have received thy beloved letter and read it in compassionate love and have found in it first thy loving solicitude that no one of us some day should be found a wicked servant; because, as thou so well remarkest, the day approaches on which we all shall become manifest before the tribunal of Jesus Christ. To escape from this great misfortune we have much cause to implore Jesus, the true Light of the world, to give us a single eye so that our body be light and we may follow Him, the true Light of the world, so that we need not walk in darkness. For he who has a wicked eye, his body will be in darkness, speaketh the mouth of truth, and in such darkness man loses his trust in God and can no longer find any delight nor taste in self-denial, in which consists all spiritual growth and increase. Therefore sayeth the Lord: He who will be my disciple, let him deny himself and take my cross upon himself and follow me.

Oh, my dear one, who walks thus in simplicity, he walks safely. May the Lord give light to the eyes of our understanding that we may not miss the footprints of our Good Shepherd in anything whatsoever.

What else thou reportest, that thou hast no assurance yet of being forgiven for all thy sins, that is not a bad sign, for God reserves this privilege for Himself in His own loving power, so full of wisdom, when, where, and how He will give to a repentant sinner the assurance that his sins are fully forgiven to him. It is a certain sign of God's willingness to forgive us our sins when He grants us to feel a deep repentance for everything wherewith we have insulted the eyes of His High Majesty. Especially when such repentance is accompanied by a disgust against the evil and with an ardent desire to do the will of God, I think this a better sign than if a visible angel would come down from Heaven and say to some one who has not yet tasted the bitterness of sins, - Thy sins are forgiven.

It must indeed be accepted gratefully when the Lord by the inward joyful strength and the comforting voice of the Good Shepherd gives to a soul a sure marrow- and bone-penetrating assurance that his sins are now forgiven and that his name is written down in heaven. However, it seems to me that our prayer should be more to the effect that the Lord may keep us from sin and may lead us into the pleasure of His will, in order that our will, our desire, and our entire pleasure may become a daily burnt-offering to the pure love of God. When Saul was converted and had been fasting and praying for three days Ananias spoke to him: Dear Brother Saul, why tarriest thou, arise and be baptized and have thy sins washed away, etc.

If now the Lord should not be willing to give they an entire assurance of the forgiveness of thy sins until thou hadst been baptized it would be nothing new nor unusual, but an experience which has happened to many before thee or me. However the kind hand of God is bound by nothing, but He gives and takes as it is good for His children and can serve to their best. Let us on our part only try to become true to God. I have wondered somewhat that thou hast postponed thy baptism until spring, as thou dost not know if thou wilt live until then.

Be heartily greeted and kissed in the spirit and recommended to the grace of God. My wife and children send greetings too. Also greet thy dear parents and whoever of thy brother and sisters is willing to accept a greeting. ,

I 'am thy humble Brother.

SANDER MACK.

To the dear Brother, Johannes Preisz,

To be opened at his pleasure.

Reference will be made under the chapter on Annual Meeting, touching an invited council meeting at Germantown, in 1791 The record of this council is here given in the handwriting of Elder Mack.

Remarkable Events which have Transpired in the Year 1791, in the Congregation of the Baptists in Germantown

On the 11th of June of this 1791st year a large meeting took place in Germantown, where many Brethren from far and near came together; several elders of several congregations were likewise present.

There a question was brought up by Brethren from the Germantown congregation to the assembled Brethren coming from other places. The good purpose of this question consisted principally in this: How one could, here in Germantown, resist by a united effort the very injurious evil which by the conformation to the world(,) is wrought upon the minds of the young, as we are living so near to the capital of the country.

After careful deliberation the visiting Brethren gave us in the fear of the Lord an advice, to which they signed their names, and we Germantown Brethren have also signed in the name of the entire congregation, to bear witness that we have received their advice in submissive love, and are willing to submit to the same loving advice in the fear of the Lord, as the written testimony reports in detail, which is preserved in Germantown.

On that same evening we have broken the bread in the congregation at the Lord's Supper which was specially appointed for the purpose and have thus bound ourselves all together in love and faithfulness.

That this agreement was faithfully kept by the Germantown congregation is shown by the following record by Elder Mack.

Remarkable Events in the Year 1792.

Already in the beginning, but especially in the middle of the year 1791, a sad event has unexpectedly been brought about; namely, one of the youngest brethren in Germantown has, in spite of the advice of the Brethren, chosen the part of disobedience and has declined all warning and exhortation and has now, when this is being written, for over a year chosen the conformation to the world and insists on his innocence in the very cause in which he had been advised to deny himself and to submit to good advice, as others have done who would have had much more cause to insist on their innocence. And we have refused him the kiss of Brotherhood and the breaking of bread until he reforms.

We have seen how Elder Mack sent the kiss of love to John Price even before the latter was baptized. This spiritual union was never severed. In 1798 a difference of opinion arose between these men, now both elders of the church, and it is not too presumptuous to commend to some elders of to-day the manner in which these brethren settled their difference.

On June 1, 1793, Elder Mack acknowledges a letter from Elder Price and says, "I have read carefully and thoughtfully several times all the words which thou hast written me and until now have not found in them any cause to change the opinion which I hold on this matter." The matter referred to is the question of religious persecution, for Elder Mack commends to Elder Price, Acts 4:1, 2; and 5:17, 18. The conduct of the Sadducees fills Elder Mack with indignation and against their spirit he cries out:

"O Lord, mercifully deliver all souls for thine own sake from this swinish way! Oh, my dear Brother, do not wonder that I cannot listen to anything that rises up to disturb me in my heavenly call! As far as the parallel presentations and elucidations are concerned,

I find some in thy letter which in good conscience I cannot praise. Yet I think I am not acting wrong in leaving them as they stand, for only the alone-good and alone-wise God can know why thou wast written in this way.

"To this God who is alone-powerful be glory and praise in eternity, Amen. To the Father of mercy and the God of all comfort be heartily commended by a for-grace-hungering little worm, otherwise thy well known humble brother, SANDER MACK.

Written at Creyfelt, in our hut, the first day of June 1798."

To this came a reply full of Christian charity, but containing Scriptural texts intended to convince Elder Mack to Elder Price's views. In this Elder Price was not successful, but he did draw from Alexander black a precious letter, so full of God's love and charity that it deserves to be treasured in the heart of all Christian people. No kindlier spirit ever breathed its fragrance into the church than this.

Tenderly Beloved Brother, Dear and Esteemed Fellow Pilgrim, Johannes Preisz :Besides a hearty greeting and a kiss in the spirit of upright brotherly love I, according to thy desire, herewith return to thee thy letter. I have indeed read thy letter repeatedly in the fear of the Lord, and I cannot say that all the texts which thou hast quoted cause me such an impression as I understand they have caused you. But what am I to say?

The flowers in the garden are quiet and at peace. Although one is decked in blue, another in red, and another in white, they serenely praise their Maker and in entire harmony laud the manifold wisdom of the Being of all beings. They praise Thee, Lord, in the stillness of Zion!

In this past night the youngest child of my youngest daughter has departed from the body of death and has passed from the land of mortals over the stream that has no bridge to the land of the living.

This child has accomplished its entire life's journey in thirteen months, while I by now have been journeying for eighty-six years and seven months, and have not yet crossed the Jordan; but what God does, is well done; and it does not depend upon any one's running or racing, but alone upon God's mercy.

P. S.--I have not told any one in our neighborhood that a dispute had occurred between thee and myself, and have not shown thy letter to any one. The Lord has called me for peace. That same peace which passeth all understanding, keep our hearts and minds in Christ Jesus, Amen, Amen.

Written at Creyfelt, in my hut, the 23rd of October, 1798, by thy weak brother and fellow-pilgrim,

SANDER MACK.

Reference has already been made to the marriage, in 1780, of Elder John Price to Elizabeth Weidner, daughter of Lazarus Weidner, a Mennonite preacher. At this time a Mennonite was not allowed to marry outside the congregation. Elizabeth was expelled. This action called forth from Elder Mack this letter, the original of which is in my possession:

December, 1780.

LAZARUS WEIDNER,

Dear Friend:--It has been reported to me that thou hast cast thy daughter out of the congregation because she has married my dear Brother, Johannis Preisz. In the hope that thou mightest be prepared to give a reason to any one who demand a reason of the hope that is in thee, I find myself compelled in childlike love to lay a few questions before thee:

First Question.--Is it possible that thou canst do this thing and yet remain a preacher of the Gospel?

Second Question.--Dost thou perhaps consider my dear Brother Johannis Preisz an unbeliever? Why so? John the Apostle says, we know that we have come from death unto life if we love the brethren. Whoever does not have this love remains in death.

My much-beloved friend, should it not be pleasing to thee to answer my questions, then I hope thou wilt surely try to answer them in some measure to thy own conscience.

I shall try to remain thy good friend and well wisher, SANDER MACK.

Author of Valuable Works

As early as 1760, says Hildeburn, in his *Issues of the Pennsylvania Press*, Sower published a treatise from the pen of Alexander Mack, entitled: *Eine Armuthige Erinnerung zueiner Christlichen Betrachtung von der Wunderbaren Allgegenwart des Allwissenden Gottes*, 8vo., In 1758 there was published at Ephrata a work entitled: *Anhang zum Widerlegten Wiedertaufer*, and in the same year from the same press, at the expense of the Brotherhood, Alexander Mack issued his famous defense of the doctrines and rites of the Brethren church as Scriptural, entitled "Apologia." The full title is: *Apology, or a Scriptural Answer of Certain Truths, Brought about by a Recently Published Article under the Name, The Refuted Anabaptist. In a Dialogue Written for the Common People. The Whole Conversation, Word for Word, is Given in these Pages, and the Apology as an Answer to the Perverted Truth, added by Theophilus Ephrata: Published at the Expense of the Brethren in the year 1788.*

This is the most important defense of the church written in the eighteenth century. It contains seventy-two pages. Theophilus is the assumed name of the author, Elder Mack. The conversation develops the rites and ordinances of the church, and on page 65 begins the refutation of the accusations against the Brethren or Anabaptists. The objections he meets are so frequently revived that it seems wise to insert here the plain and sensible remarks of Brother Mack.

First.--The Anabaptists are accused of warring against their own flesh and blood because they do not baptize their children under age (minors).

The Anabaptists believe firmly that a human law to a dying child amounts to nothing; to a child, however, to whom the Lord gives time to live and to know His will, they believe it may be very damaging because very often through human laws God's laws are thwarted. Now they who consider this carefulness "warring" err very much.

Secondly.--The Anabaptists are accused that their creed (*Leitzsatz*) is founded in the imagination, since they seek to maintain no other creed than the will of their Heavenly Father which is made manifest through

Jesus Christ in the Holy Scriptures; before which creed all imagination and fancy vanishes as frost before the rays and heat of the sun.

Thirdly.--The Anabaptists are accused that their doctrine (*Lehrbegriffe*) shuns reason (reference to p. g) and cannot stand close examination. The Anabaptists desire to have no other doctrine than the words of their Savior as they are written in the New Testament, which words never evade reason, and are not only as well refined gold which is able to stand the closest examination, but they will also remain when heaven and earth shall pass away.

Fourthly.--In the fact that one accuses a lover of the truth of doing a wrong to reason because he takes it captive under obedience of truth,--although there is no greater honor to be found under heaven for our little reason than to be permitted to shine in the bonds and fetters of heavenly wisdom and wherever it is met with outside of these confines, wherever it is outside of its own free state, it must be as a harlot who for her punishment of the terribleness of her folly (lack of reason) must be plagued, harassed, and condemned.

Fifthly.--Inasmuch as the Anabaptists are accused, they are Anabaptists because they hold of all people on the earth the right baptismal command of Jesus Christ, and are therefore not against but for baptism; moreover it is a fact that he teaches in his dialogue that the Anabaptist truly deserves this name, and his last expression testifies to this in which he declares the baptism, which was practiced by Jesus Christ and his apostles, entirely unnecessary; whereby he dearly proves that he is against baptism. For Christ himself says: He that is not against us is for us; therefore, surely Anabaptists are not Antibaptists.

Lastly, however, to come to the close of this speech, the dear friend (the Churchman) has remarked (reference to p. 64) that many say: Away with outward baptism, we must receive it inwardly: this he once said to one of his friends, who said: What, must one first tear the people asunder before he baptizes them?

Upon this it is expedient to remark the wise information serves me very well which the dear brother (the Churchman) has given in his speech, namely, that faith and believing (*der Glaube* *it. das Glauben*) are as different as life and activity. To profit by this in its real meaning, the clear expression of the true and genuine testimony serves very well, which testifies: Behold the kingdom of God is within you. Luke 17:21. Now whenever the kingdom is within a man there also is faith, however with a great difference. In many it (faith) lies as dead and hidden as fire in a cold stone; in others it lies as a little spark in the ashes; while in others as quite a large coal. With all, however, something real must precede inwardly or outwardly, and generally inwardly and outwardly at the same time. That is to say, there must something real precede so that man may come into the possession of the ability to believe, or it is to show that faith is not a man's ordinary possession, but rather that is disbelief in which he is prone to live and to die. Concerning this point, Paul testifies, Acts 17:31, that God places faith before every one--i. e., makes it possible for every one to believe. Hence the apostles and servants of Christ have striven, at all times, with the two-edged sword of the Word, to pierce the hearts of men, and to sever asunder the lurking place of this ignorance and wickedness; to preach the kingdom of God, to make a place for the inward kingdom of God; and to destroy the kingdom of Satan. Wherever now this God-like work is received in men, there is Christ himself received in his rightful possession. John 1:12, To them he gave power to become the sons of God. N. B.--They who believe in his name, to such children the washing of regeneration (*Bad der Wiedergeburt*) is necessary; through this also water baptism itself takes its beginning inwardly and is outwardly put into effect, as it pleases God. Christ says: He who looks upon a woman to lust after her, has broken honor with her already in his heart. Now, if the kingdom of Satan has such power over men who allow themselves to be caught in the snare of shameful lust, how much more has the kingdom of God power over men who allow themselves to be caught in the net of the Holy Gospel which heavenly wisdom has spun and woven.

Thence when the treasurer (of Queen Candace) spoke to Philip: Behold here is water, what hinders me from being baptized? Acts 8:36, he had received (or accepted) water baptism within already in faith. But Philip desired that he should have received (*angezogen*) also Christ within through faith before he entered the water, hence he said: if thou believest with thy whole heart thou mayest. He answered: I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. In this opinion Paul speaks. Gal. 3:27. For as many of you as are baptized into (*auf*) Christ, they have put on (*angezogen*) Christ, concerning which it can now be truly said, he is baptized. However, such an one despises neither the inward nor the outward baptism, but rather I believe he

who puts on Christ puts on (accepts) with Him at the same time the whole counsel of God and speaks with the converted soul from the whole heart and free will: Lord, what wilt thou, that I shall do?

Finally it is to be considered that as faith and believing are different, so is there also a great difference between a sound and an unsound faith. Concerning which St. Paul admonishes Titus, his upright son, that he should rebuke those sharply upon this that they should be sound in the faith. Tit. 1:13. Just as a sick man cannot do what to a well man is easy to do, so an unsound faith cannot believe all that otherwise to a sound faith is very easy to believe, and this therefore cannot be the victory which overcomes the world.

I must freely confess that I have observed in the whole dialogue concerning baptism a very great unsoundness of faith in our beloved Churchman; particularly where he himself testifies that he cannot believe that John the Baptist could have been able to baptize all the people by immersion that he did baptize. He says: He (John) was no Samson and was neither steel nor iron that he could stand in the water continually! It seems to me that common sense without almost any faith could judge of this affair better than this. However, I have often observed that an unsound faith can cause unsoundness in reason or judgment, whereas a sound faith is alone able to heal a weal: reason and keep it in a sound state. Therefore, a sound faith should hold firmly to God's Word which always heals where herbs and plasters cannot heal.

Composer of Sacred Hymns.

The early Brethren were noted writers of hymns. To assert that any one of them is prominent in this respect is high praise, indeed, and yet it may be safely asserted that with the exception of Jacob Stop, Alexander Mach was one of the most gifted composers of sacred poetry in the colonial church. Nos. 34 and 36 of Elder Sower's *Geistliche Magazin* are written by Elder Mach. Both are extended poems.

When his companion and friend, Elder Christopher Sower, was buried on August 27, 1784, Elder Mack, too sorely stricken to speak, composed for the service a touchingly beautiful hymn

Now breaks the earthly house en-twain,

Now can this mortal frame decay;

The pilgrimage is brought to end. Now can the spirit fly away.

The soul at last has overcome.

Through Jesus was the victory won.

Now unto Jesus will I go,

Who died for me, as mortals die;

And found for me, through pain and woe,

A place, a refuge, in the sky.

He has for me a better house,

In store prepared, above the clouds.

Shed not so many tears for me,

My friends and my companions dear;

Shed not so many tears for me,
My friends and my companions dear;
You can believe, I now am free,
From every mortal care and fear.
O! look unto the Lamb once slain,
Through whom you can redemption gain.
My staff through life, I leaned upon
Was longing for a patient faith;
For Jesus shake unto my soul,
From all my debt a full relief,
Like frost, when touched at opening day,
By sunlight, quickly melts away.
Speak not of others' worthiness,
But only of what Jesus done;
The world with all its vanities,
Can never save a single one.
Redemption has appeared to men,
Through Jesus' grief, and dying pain.

Before me as I write lies the private diary of this pious man. It is in manuscript and has never been published. What a mine of gold! When its full contents are made known, the memory of this godly elder will be cherished in every believing heart. It contains in all 277 pages, and the limited space at my disposal allows of only the most meagre attention.

As early as 1772, January 28th, the anniversary of his birth, he composed a hymn of praise to Almighty God for his loving and preserving care. This custom he continued almost uninterruptedly upon each succeeding anniversary until the year of his death, 1803. In all there are twenty-three of these remarkable poems.

The last ones, written in 1800, 1801, and 1802, together with one composed December 27, 1801 are here given in his own hand-writing. They are remarkable evidences of mental and spiritual vigor at the age of four score and ten years.

1801 December 27.

Jesus, name so heavenly fair,
Turns to sweetness the bitter waters,
Source of light so merciful,
Come, destroy the darkness now'.
Jehovah, a firm rock will stand
When earthly things must pass away.
Justice is His castle strong,
Upon which rock is set His throne.
Righteousness His right hand gives
At his left the Sword is sharpened.
He who seeks his refuge in God's house
Let him cast all evil from his heart.

SANDER MACK, aged 89 years.

Before the mountains were made
And the world was created,
God loved the Gates of Zion,
Just as now and forevermore.
And out of pure loving
He has written us in the book of life.
Whoever signs his name thereto,
Will remain in blessed state.

The poor pilgrim whom the mercy of God has sustained unto his 90th year has written this yet with his own hand.

SANDER MACK.

From a letter written by Elder Martin Urner in 1771 it appears that Alexander Mack was a weaver. Perhaps he learned the trade from good old Peter Becker. He was a vigorous man physically. As late as 1794 he walked ten miles in one day. He was then eighty-two years old. He was married January 1, 1749, to Elizabeth Nice, (2) daughter of William Nice. To this union were given eight children:

(1) William, born October 31, 1749. He became a blacksmith, and early in his youth he went with Brother Henry Schlingluff to the Antietam country and worked at his trade with one Daniel Steiner. October 13, 1772, he married Agnes Gantz, to whom Elder Mach in his will bequeaths one-fifth of his entire estate. They had one son, Jacob, born August 29, 1773. No record of other children is made by Alexander Mack.

(2) Anna Maria born October 29, 1752. She was married June 6, 1769, and died April 5, 1770, "after spending ten months, less one day, in the sorrowful state of matrimony." Death was due to child-birth. She left an infant son whom Alexander Mack named Jonas. This child died July 31, 1770, aged "four months and eleven hours." The name of Anna Maria's husband is not known.

(3) Sarah Margareta born December 23, 1753. She married Jacob Zeigler February 2, 1776. Was baptized September 3, 1769, and died September 8, 1799. To them was born a son on Saturday, December 7, 1776.

(4) Hannah, born September 10, 1755. Married Adam Weaver, August 27, 1775. To them was born a son, June 18, 176, whom they named Alexander. This son died May 11, 1795.

(5) Alexander, born January 18, 1758, and his father records as follows: " 1760, March 26, he has been recalled from us by temporal death, and has joined my dear father and mother in the eternal rest and blessedness."

(6) Lydia, born Sunday, January 4, 1761. Married Dielman Kolb in 1779. To them were born three children, Jacob, Rebecca, and Elizabeth. Dielman Kolb died after a long and painful illness on Wednesday, December 14, 1785. She was married the second time on July 15, 1788, to Jacob Lentz, a baker in Philadelphia.

(7) Elizabeth, born May 2, 1763, died of smallpox May 29, 1770.

(8) Anna Margaretha born July 31, 1765. Named for her grandmother Mack. Married Emmanuel Fox July 22, 1784. To them was born September 22, 1797, a daughter, Maria. This daughter was "summoned home and fell asleep October 22, 1788."

His will provides that his wife shall enjoy the income of his estate, and at her death he bequeathed to four daughters and his daughter-in-law, or to the children of them, all his estate real and personal, share and share alike; and appoints his wife and his son-in-law, Emmanuel Fox, his executors. He was at the time of his death possessed of thirty acres of land in Germantown and in Springfield Township. Upon this stood his dwelling. He also owned twenty-three acres of timber land in Springfield Township, adjoining lands of John Huston and others.

It will be seen from this that he was not a poor man. His industry and frugality enabled him to possess enough of this world's goods to do what he wrote to his brother Valentine in 1748 he wished to do, " eat my own bread, yet, under the blessing of God."

His wife's sisters were married to Peter Leibert and Henry Sharpnack, well-known brethren at Germantown. Those men he always cherished the warmest regard and to them he gave the benediction of a noble life.

The last winter of his life was passed in his house, with occasional trips to the public services he so long attended and so feelingly conducted. With what emotions must his congregation have witnessed his tottering steps as he slowly made his way to the ministers' bench in the little meetinghouse! His life-work was done, and he lingered yet a little longer to comfort his followers and to plead for Christian charity. Soon after New Year's day, 1803, he was obliged to give up all out-door activity; but this did not prevent him from pleading for the poor widow at the gate. His last letter was written to the congregation in behalf of a poor old widow named Stierli from Philadelphia.

It seems that this old widow had been a member of the congregation and had fallen away. She came in the autumn and begged to be fully received again, but was refused " for the reason of her changeable nature, and

her still too great ingratitude." He describes her as a "poor, needy, weak, and with several boils on her head, badly suffering widow, who lies before our door and craves to nourish herself with the crumbs that fall from our table." Although the congregation did not receive her into the Widow's Home, an institution that had been long maintained by the congregation, a few brethren at the Thursday's meeting agreed to give her "during these hard times" a quarter of flour every month. Elder Mack adds, "I would have been better pleased had they, added a pound of butter." He expresses the hope that when the New Year's day shall have come, the brethren would add that pound of butter. The clay came and the brethren took away the quarter of flour from the poor old woman. "Then my thoughts stood still. The reflections on this subject have gradually in this New Year plunged my soul into sorrow." He could not rest. A few members were called to his room and as a result he announces, "that on next Saturday a quarter of good flour and a pound of good butter" shall go to the old widow. He closes this appeal with the words, "Whoever among the brethren is sure in his mind that the widow belongs in the _House for the Poor' to him God will give so much wisdom that he can persuade her to make the request to be received therein. Until then she lies at our door."

He is also the author of a manuscript discussion of doctrinal questions, twenty-two of which he asks and answers. The paper is too long for insertion here, and must be left for subsequent publication.

After he had provided for the poor widow he was happy and on March 20, 1803, in the presence of his wife and many of his children and grandchildren, he quietly closed his eyes to the familiar scenes around him to open them in wonder and in joy in the presence of his God.

So strongly was he impressed with the date of his death that he composed his own epitaph and noted on it the year of his death, 1802, leaving the month and day blank. He lived only a few months beyond, the day be noted. He was seldom known to visit even the family of his daughter Hannah Weber who lived in Germantown. But late in 1802, one Sunday after services he went to her home for dinner. After had spent some time with her he called her aside and gave her a slip of paper containing in his own hand the following lines, and said to her, "This is now my last visit with you. My time has come. When I am gone see to it that the lines written here are placed on my gravestone."

Now follows also his epitaph composed by himself.

God

Who made us

Out of dust

And again

To dust returns us,

He will show

His Wisdom's plan

When we awake

To bear His likeness.

Alexander Mack was born 1712 And fell asleep 1802.

3. The Two Martin Urners.

"Martin Urner of blessed memory," so with affection and respect was the first elder of the Coventry church spoken of by his assistant in the ministry, George Adam Martin. Martin Urner was the first elder ordained in America. He was a son of Ulrich Urner a native of the canton of Uri in Switzerland. Persecution drove the Urners to Alsace in France about 1682. Here in 1695 Martin Urner was born. In 1708 Ulrich Urner and his three sons, Jacob, Hans, and Martin, emigrated to Pennsylvania and settled perhaps in Roxborough, now a part of Philadelphia. The family soon removed to Lancaster County. He lived here as early as 1712. Six years later he purchased 450 acres of land on the Schuylkill, on part of which now stands the Coventry meetinghouse. Here his industry and business insight made him a prosperous farmer. In 1722 he was attracted to Philadelphia, with many others, to hear the celebrated preacher Christian Libe, who was currently but erroneously reported to have sailed for America. Failing to hear Libe, he visited Peter Becker at Germantown and became deeply concerned for his soul's salvation. The visits between Urner and Becker were repeated until Christmas Day, 1723, when Peter Becker baptized Martin Urner and his wife, and four others in the Wissahickon Creek. On the evening of the same day they participated in the first love feast celebrated in America. It was held in the house of John Gommory in Germantown.

In the autumn of 1724, the memorable missionary tour of the Brethren occurred. On November 7, 1724, the Coventry church was formally organized. This is the second oldest congregation in America. Nine persons constituted the first organization: Martin Urner and his wife, Catharine; Harry Landis and wife, Peter Heffly, Daniel Eicher and wife, Owen Longacre, and Andrew Sell.

Here on the Schuylkill Peter Becker preached to the new congregation, assisted by Martin Urner until 1729, when Alexander Mack came to America and ordained Brother Urner to the eldership. He was a successful elder, and the Coventry church was never rent by schisms, nor seriously interfered with by the Ephrata movement not far away. This shows the great wisdom and foresight of Elder Urner. The Coventry church prospered from the beginning, and was soon a much larger congregation than the mother congregation in Germantown. Elder Urner was assisted in his ministry by Casper Ingles of whom little is known. He baptized, in 1735, George Adam Martin, who was previously a Reformed, and a member of the congregation over which presided the celebrated Peter Miller, afterwards the leading spirit of the Ephrata community.

In 1737, Martin Urner went to the Great Swamp to baptize several persons. On this journey he was accompanied by George Adam Martin, who was then from all accounts a minister of the church. At this baptism, as was customary from the first baptism at Schwarzenau, Elder Urner read to the candidates Luke 14:25-33.

This Scripture seemed to Brother Martin unsuited to the occasion. He cried out against it. Elder Urner said, "What shall we do then? for something must be read to these people." Brother Martin answered, "The 8th chapter of Matthew about exhortation and punishment, might be read." Elder Urner accepted this suggestion and was the first to use this now universally used Scripture on such occasions.

In 1742 Elder Urner was asked to join in the famous Zinzendorf Synods. He sent Brother Martin as delegate from the Coventry church. The sequel of this is portrayed at length in the subsequent chapter on Annual Meeting. Elder Urner was really the official father of the Annual Meeting and no doubt presided over the one in 1742. It is my opinion that this first Annual Meeting was held in his house.

His actions on these two important occasions have been universally approved and followed by the Brotherhood ever since. He is thus intimately identified with the practice of the church, and next to Mack, the most significant elder in our early history.

He was married to Catherine Reist. Their children were Mary, wife of Andrew Wolff; Martin, who married Elizabeth Edis or Addis; Jacob, who married Barbara Light; Catherine, who never married, and John, who also never married.

His wife Catharine died in April, 1752, and he was subsequently married to Barbara, who survived him, dying May 8, 1796, aged eighty-four years. To this union there were no children.

Elder Urner died March 29, 1775, and is buried in the Coventry Brethren Graveyard.

For the biographic facts in this sketch of Martin Urner, I am indebted to Isaac L. Urner, LL. D., whose "Genealogy of the Urner Family" and "History of the Coventry Brethren Church" are valuable contributions to the literature of the church. Through his enterprise the Coventry Brethren Burying Ground has been made a model of neatness, simple beauty, and permanence. The gateway is reproduced here to stimulate other congregations to provide proper sleeping-places for the precious dead.

The Second Martin Urner.

Martin Urner's successor in the eldership of the Coventry church was his own nephew, Martin Urner, son of Jacob Urner. He was born Sept. 4, 1725, and was married to Barbara Switzer by Elder Christoph Sower, July 15, 1751. He was a man of considerable wealth and a preacher of great wisdom and power. His ordination to the office of elder occurred in 1756. For forty-three years he directed this congregation with remarkable success.

Under his ministry the first house of worship for this congregation was erected in 1772. This was the second house of worship built by the Brethren in America. Prior to this the congregation met for divine services in the houses of five different members in a kind of rotation, although it is probable that the meetings were held most frequently at "Belwood farm," the home of Elder Urner and also of his uncle, the first Martin Urner.

This Martin Urner was a noted revivalist. In a letter from the Antietam country in 1772, from Nicholas 'Martin to Alexander Mack, reference is made to Elder Urner's revival work. in the southern part of the Cumberland Valley. Brother Martin says, "Since the dear Brother Urner has been with us we dare not deny that the grace of God has been given us in a large measure, the number of disciples is increased many fold, while also some of them seem to be fervently awakened souls, and it almost seems as if the last would be first."

Between Martin Urner and Alexander Mack the Christian tie was strong. They loved each other devotedly. From Elder Mack, Martin Urner purchased his stockings and such other woolen garments as Elder Mack manufactured. In return for this, Elder Urner supplied Alexander Mack with grain, butter and flour.

In a letter dated "October 30, 1766, at Coventry in the Schuylkill" Elder Urner writes,

"My Dear Brother Alexander Mack.--May God give thee much grace, peace, and blessing,--as well as all thy dear ones. Yes; may the Lord greet you with his peace and may he reveal himself to you by putting his strength into your heart. Amen. I send you by this opportunity the letter which has been brought to me and which our brethren have sent from the Great Meeting. You will please read it and ponder it well with me.

Further I send you thirty-five bushels of ground corn and three bushels of wheat and ten pounds of butter . . . I hope to be able to send you the other seventeen bushels of wheat soon . . . I report to you further that the dear Brother Michael Pfautz was here with me. He has also handed me twenty shillings from Peter Guthman for you, which, as it appears, Guthman once borrowed from you and now he wishes to repay it . . . Be ye both, dear brother and sister, greeted and kissed from us poor, unworthy worms-who nevertheless live in the hope that He is faithful who has loved us

[Signed]

BARBARA URNER.

Again on October 31, 1771, he writes to Elder Mack and sends him twenty bushels of corn and fifteen bushels of wheat, ground, the corn at four shillings per bushel and the wheat at five shillings. The amount was to be credited on the account for stockings and dyed cloth. He expresses regret that he cannot visit in

Germantown, arranges for a meeting with Elder Mack at Rudolph Harley's on November 10, 1771, and closes with a touching tribute of Christian love.

Elder Urner accompanied Elder Christopher Sower on a memorable tour of the congregations in Eastern Pennsylvania in 1780, reference to which is made under the sketch of Elder Sower.

David Urner, of Springfield, Ohio, is responsible for the following anecdotes.

"I never saw my grandfather, Martin Urner, as he died a few years before I was born. I learned, however, from an old friend, that he was esteemed by his brethren in the church and ministry as a preacher of more than ordinary ability; so much so, that at their Yearly Meetings he was always one of the number that were called upon to preach. My friend said that on one occasion when the Yearly Meeting was held in Philadelphia, as the preachers from the country were jogging along on horseback, going to that meeting, one of the preachers said to my grandfather, 'As you will no doubt be called upon to preach at this meeting, I want you to preach particularly against the wearing of fine clothes, as the brethren and sisters of Philadelphia are becoming entirely too fashionable in their dress.' And although he urged the matter lengthily, he thought my grandfather did not give all heed to what he said, and asked, 'Did you hear what I said?' The answer was, 'Yes.' The next question was, 'Will you do it?' My grandfather replied, 'If I am called on to preach, I hope I shall have something of more importance than to talk to people about the rags with which they cover themselves.'"

April 8, 1781, Elder Urner baptized David and Esther, son and daughter of Elder Christopher Sower; and one of Elder Sower's last services to the church was to baptize Martin Urner son of Elder Martin Urner, and his wife Barbara.

The friendship between Elder Sower and Elder Urner was intimate. This, together with the before-noted tie of love between Elder Urner and Elder Mack warrants the assumption that the two congregations, Coventry and Germantown, were most harmonious and helpfully cooperative. When Elder Sower died in 1784, Elder Martin Urner preached the funeral sermon, assisted by Samuel Hopkins.

Martin Urner's wife died April 23, 1794, and on May 18, 1799, he was laid to rest in the Coventry Brethren graveyard.

He was a worthy successor of a worthy elder, and to these two men, uncle and nephew, we are indebted for a remarkably able administration of the holy office they so nobly honored. Upon their long ministry there rests no shadow. Over their life-work lays lovingly the light of God's welcome, "Well done."